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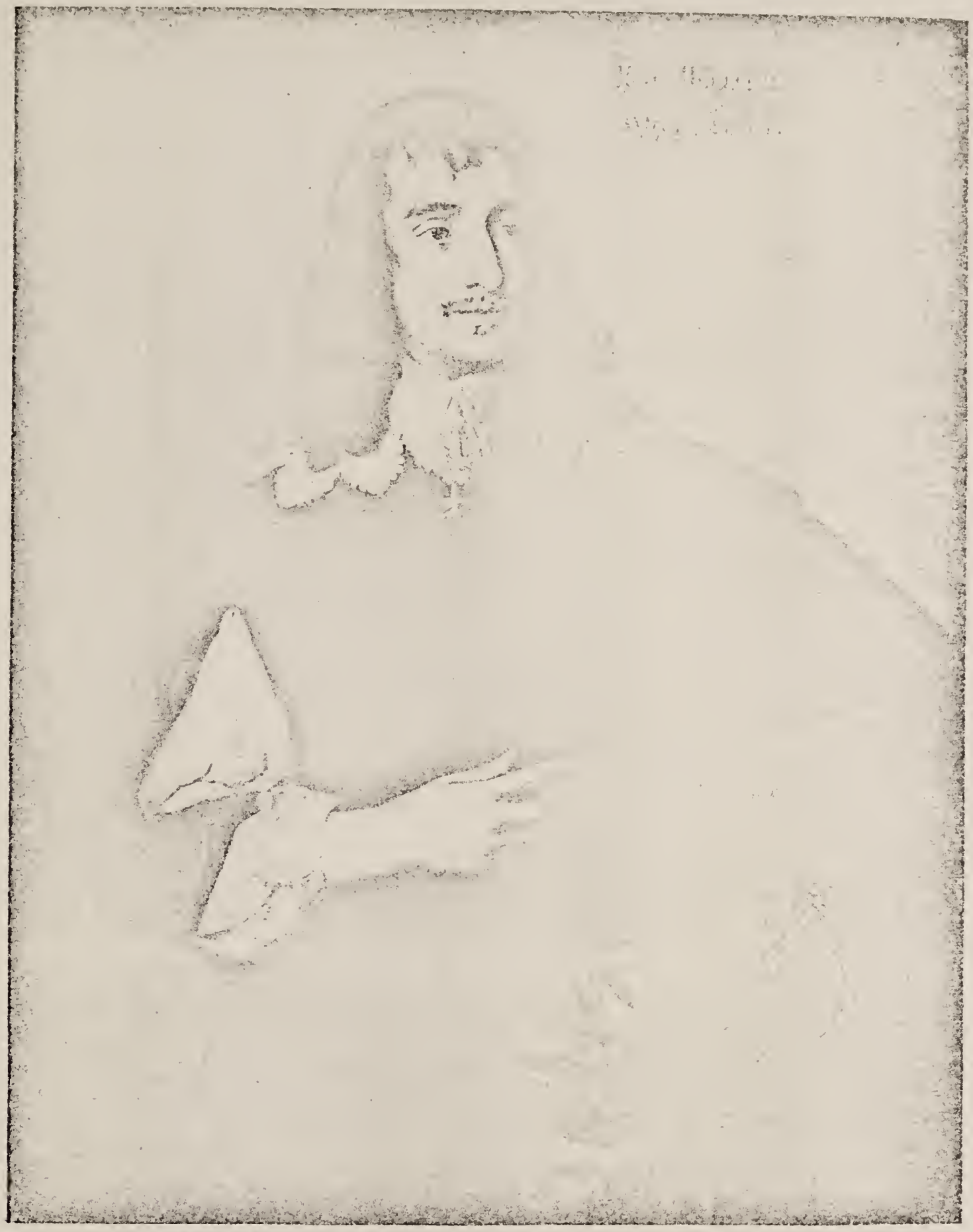
JOHN UNDERHILL

CAPTAIN OF NEW ENGLAND AND NEW NETHERLAND



CAPTAIN JOHN UNDERHILL

Original in the possession of Myron C. Taylor of New York

JOHN UNDERHILL

CAPTAIN OF NEW ENGLAND AND NEW NETHERLAND

BY

HENRY C. SHELLEY

AUTHOR OF *John Harvard and His Times*, ETC.

The overthrow of the Pequots [by John Underhill] was a cardinal event in the planting of New England.—JOHN FISKE.

It would not be extravagant to call him [John Underhill] the saviour of New Netherland.—JOHN FISKE.

D. APPLETON AND COMPANY

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1590277

THIS STUDY OF

JOHN UNDERHILL

IS INSCRIBED WITH DEEPEST GRATITUDE TO

A DESCENDANT

WHOSE UNFAILING INSPIRATION AND GENEROSITY

HAVE MADE IT POSSIBLE

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JOHN UNDERHILL

CAPTAIN OF NEW ENGLAND AND NEW NETHERLAND

JOHN UNDERHILL

CHAPTER I

SOME EARLY ANCESTORS

WHEN he had compiled his exhaustive annals of the peerage of England, Arthur Collins concentrated the moral of his labours in the reflection: "'tis no small happiness for any one to be descended from a Brave and Worthy stock." Such a source of pleasure was enjoyed by many of the pioneers of the New World; but it is doubtful if any of the early settlers could claim a more ancient pedigree than John Underhill, Captain of New England and New Netherland. Certainly his lineage was long and gentle. His progenitors had achieved the status of country gentlemen by the thirteenth century.

Although in later centuries, and particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth, families of the name were residing in different parts of England, it was in the southern region of the midland county of Staffordshire, and especially at Wolverhampton and its vicinity, that the most virile and prosperous Underhill family was seated; and records exist of pedigrees [1] which carry the line back into the thirteenth century. In 1450 the head of the family was Nicholas Underhill, whose eldest son, John, was born about that date. And that John Underhill was the great-great-great-grandfather of the John Underhill

[1] Huntbach MSS. in the William Salt Library at Stafford.

who was the founder of the Underhill line on American soil.

Until he had passed his thirtieth year, John Underhill dwelt on the family estate at Wolverhampton. Before 1481 he was married and had a son William. But the union was not of long duration, for a year or so later he had espoused a second wife in the person of Agnes, daughter and heiress of Thomas Porter, of Nether Ettington, Warwickshire. That was an example of a young widower mating with a young widow, for Agnes had been the few years' wife of one John Norwood. The marriage occasioned a great change in John Underhill's life, for thereafter he left Staffordshire and settled at Nether Ettington, the chief reason, no doubt, being that as the husband of the rich young heiress it was essential he should reside where her property was situated.

Whatever may have been the comparative amenities and natural beauties of Wolverhampton and Nether Ettington in the late fifteenth century, there is no question which has the advantage to-day. The blight of the Industrial Revolution plus the grime of "the Black Country" have hidden whatever pristine charms the Staffordshire town may have possessed; but Ettington, a large parish some seven miles southeast of Stratford-on-Avon, is but little changed from the aspect it wore when it became the home of John Underhill toward the close of the fifteenth century. In all England there is hardly any other equal area so richly dowered with those pastoral beauties which were the inspiration of Shakespeare's eulogy of "this other Eden, demi-paradise . . . this dear, dear land." The grassy verge of the meandering lanes, the luxurious hedgerows with tangled dog-rose or

LOWER "EATINGTON" MANOR HOUSE, 1738

The Underhill home, 1509-1641, now known as Ettington Park. At the right is the Shirley Chapel of the ruined Church of St. Nicholas

bramble, the wayside undergrowth with its procession of modest flowers, the umbrageous foliage of thickly-clustered trees, the undulating landscape which softly rises into pleasant knolls or falls into shady valleys, all combine to produce an unrivalled picture of quiet loveliness. John Underhill can have had no cause to regret that his marriage with Agnes Porter had occasioned his removal to such an idyllic countryside.

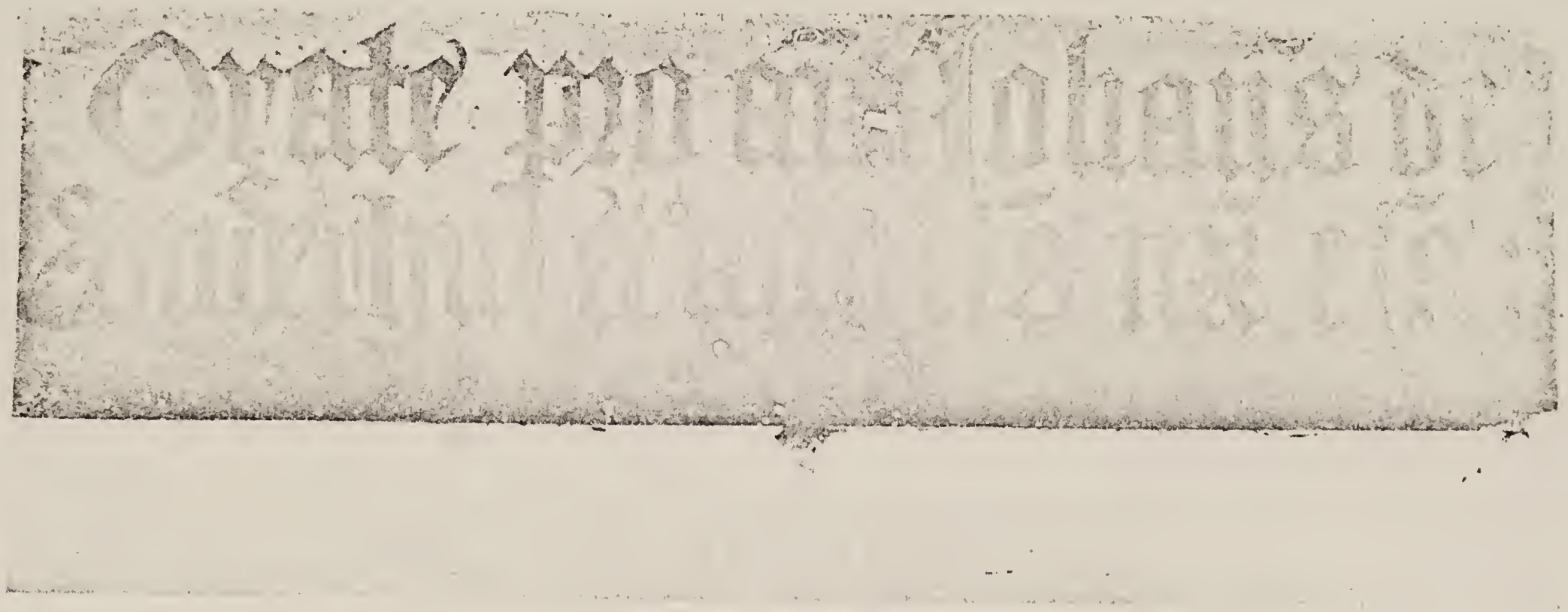
For more than thirty years John and Agnes Underhill had their Ettington home in a building which, if it has not utterly vanished, is beyond identification; but in 1509 they secured a lease of the manor from the Shirley family and were then doubtless able to remove to the manor house. It is probable the Shirley and Porter families were rivals in local importance, though the former could claim manorial rights dating from Domesday. What is established, however, is that the Shirley family was willing to lease their possession to John Underhill for eighty years from the date given above, and that in 1541 a new lease for a hundred years was granted to his heir. It was a grandson of that heir, it may be noted, who sold his property of New Place in Stratford-on-Avon to William Shakespeare in 1597.

Although the sixteenth-century manor house of Ettington no longer exists, there has survived a record which provides the imagination with some data from whence it is possible to repicture its interior. The document is a family will of 1556 to which an inventory is attached.[2] From the sub-headings of that inventory it appears that the house included a "parler under the gret

[2] Probate Registry at Birmingham: Will of Margaret Underhill, dated 4 Oct. 1556; proved 6 Sept. 1563 at Stratford-on-Avon.

chamber," "the gret chamber over the same parler," "the chamber within that," "the chamber over the Wolhowse," "my owne chamber where I lye," "the chamber within that," besides a "chamber over the porch," a storehouse, the men's chamber, kitchen, bake-house, day-house, study, etc., etc. Apart from that old document, which should be considered in relation to William Harrison's description of the Elizabethan country gentleman's abode as being built of "strong timber" with "rooms large and comely," the only tangible evidence of John and Agnes Underhill's association with Ettington is a small brass with the inscription: "ORATE PRO ANIMABUS JOHANNIS DE UNDERHUL ET AGNETIS UXORIS EIUS." The brass is fixed to the wall of what is now known as the Shirley Chapel, but which was formerly the transept of the ancient parish church, though no doubt the memorial was originally placed near the tombs of John and Agnes Underhill after the burial of the latter in 1526. Of course the appeal of the memorial is eloquent of the fact that John and Agnes were adherents of the Catholic faith; but if there had been any question on that point it would be conclusively resolved by the wills of the two, made in the sixth and seventeenth years of the reign of Henry VIII, and hence prior to that monarch's recognition of the Reformation.

There is ample evidence that John Underhill was ambitious to become a landowner on a considerable scale. Not content with the family estates at Wolverhampton, nor with the acres with which he had been enriched by his union with Agnes Porter, he seems to have been constantly on the alert to acquire further property in Warwickshire. The most considerable of those purchases was



BRASS TABLET IN SHIRLEY CHAPEL, NETHER ETTINGTON, ENGLAND, TO THE MEMORY OF JOHN AND AGNES DE UNDERHUL

effected in the November of 1500, when he and his wife bought from Sir Thomas Pulteney the "manor of Hunningham with appurtenances."[3] This property included three messuages, that is, dwelling-houses with out buildings and croft and garden and orchard, "500 acres of land, 100 of meadow, 40 of pasture, and 14/0½ rent with appurtenances in Hunningham and Ethorp"; and the price stated to have been paid was "200 marks of silver." As the silver mark was of the value of only 13/4, the sum involved in this transaction may seem insignificant, representing about £150 ($750). But when it is remembered that as compared with modern currency that of the reign of Henry VII needs to be multiplied by twelve, it will be seen that the purchase of Hunningham manor represented an outlay of about £1800 ($9,000). And that was only one of John Underhill's investments made about the same time, another of which entailed the expenditure of an equal sum. It is clear, indeed, that his means were as ample as those of many of the nobility in the early sixteenth century.

He had a special reason for the purchase of Hunningham manor, which was conveniently situated some fifteen miles northeast of Ettington. His first-born child of his marriage with Agnes Porter, named Thomas after her father, was approaching his majority, and in a few years it would be necessary to provide him with a home of his own. That eventuality had become an actuality by 1512, for by that date Thomas Underhill was both a husband and a father, he having espoused Anne, daughter of Robert Winter, the head of an armigerous family of Huddington in Worcestershire. Four sons were the issue

[3] Public Record Office: Feet of Fines, 12 Nov. 1500.

of that union: Edward, born in 1512; and Ralph, Thomas, and Hugh, whose births took place between 1513 and 1520. By the latter date Thomas of Hunningham was dead, for in the June of that year his widow was acting as the executrix of his will.

Thanks to the industrious John Strype, Edward Underhill of Hunningham has been known to history for more than two centuries. He was that "Hot Gospeller" who figures so prominently in the "Ecclesiastical Memorials," and has since been familiar to the readers of Agnes Strickland, Harrison Ainsworth, Froude, and other writers. Primarily, that posthumous fame was due to Edward Underhill himself. He was acquainted with John Fox,[4] and when the martyrologist was gathering materials for his "Acts and Monuments" he supplied him with a narrative of the persecutions he had endured for religion, particularly relating how he had been imprisoned for writing a ballad against the Papists. Thus his story is a kind of autobiography; and although Fox did not make any use of the manuscript, he preserved it among his papers, where it was found by Strype, who utilized it to good effect.[5] From internal evidence it is clear that Underhill wrote his narrative in the latter half of 1561, when he was living in rural retirement at Baginton.

Although Strype eulogized Edward Underhill as "a man zealous for pure religion against superstitions and

[4] On leaving Oxford in 1545, Fox became tutor for several years in the Lucy family at Charlecote, and it is probable he met the "Hot Gospeller" at that time.

[5] Strype used Underhill's material in a piecemeal manner. Some passages were introduced into his life of Cranmer in 1694; but more copious extracts were reserved for his *Ecclesiastical Memorials* of 1721. A full version was published by the Camden Society in 1859 in *Narratives of the Reformation;* and it was reprinted again by Edward Arber in 1882 in the fourth volume of *An English Garner.*

impieties of all sorts," his character had another quality. In his early years at least he was of a restless, adventurous disposition, which involved him in dubious company and extravagant ways. As he succeeded to his father's manor in his eighth year, his minority was naturally passed in wardship, and in 1526 his uncle William, the son of John of Ettington by his first wife—who was an attorney of the Court of Common Pleas, and who had been Clerk of the House of Commons from 1510 to 1514—was appointed as his guardian. There is much evidence that the relationship was not amicable; and not long after Edward had attained his majority the estrangement had developed into an enmity which was never placated. In his twentieth year he was involved in an escapade which was probably more due to high spirits and distaste of the quiet life of the country than any other cause, so that it is not surprising that by 1539 he had managed to become a member of the band of Gentlemen Pensioners. That corps was the Royal Bodyguard, and its members were "chosen out of the best and most ancient families of England." As a member of that band, or because of the soldierly status thereby involved, Edward Underhill was thrice in France on military service, in 1543 at Landrecies, in 1549 at Boulogne, and in 1552 at Calais. His service in the Royal Bodyguard extended over four reigns, beginning with Henry VIII and ending with Elizabeth, or five reigns if the brief sovereignty of the nine days' Queen is included.

Before the accession of Mary, he had, by "reading the Scriptures and following the Preachers," abandoned the Catholic belief and become an adherent of the Reformed faith. That he was in high favour with the reformed

party is obvious from the fact that during her fleeting reign Queen Jane became godmother to his newly-born son, giving him the name of Guildford, after her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley. On the swift ending of Queen Jane's regime, in the July of 1553, the partisans of Mary Tudor were naturally vigilant in searching out and persecuting any who were known to be favourable to the Reformation; and there were two counts against Edward Underhill: not merely had the Protestant Jane acted as godmother to his son, but he had written a ballad in derision of the Papists. Hence that arrest and imprisonment of which he has left so vivid a narrative in his autobiography. But he soon regained his liberty; and, by changing his abode, by living a quiet life, and by faithfully discharging his soldierly duties as a Gentleman Pensioner, he escaped further persecution. He even attended the marriage of Mary to Philip of Spain at Winchester in the July of 1555. But a little later, as he recorded, "began the cruel persecution of the preachers and earnest professors and followers of the Gospel, and searching of men's houses for their books." Whereupon he requisitioned a bricklayer to enclose his books "in a brick wall by the chimney's side" in his chamber: and shortly thereafter he "removed from thence" and went into Warwickshire, where, nigh unto Coventry, he secured "a house a mile out of that City in a wood side."

Why did he not return to his childhood home at Hunningham? It was his no more. He had sold the manor there eight years earlier. During his examination when he was arrested for his anti-Papist ballad, one of his accusers had declared that he had "spent his living wantonly." He naturally denied the impeachment, pro-

testing that he had not consumed any part of his estate until he entered the Royal service; but in another part of his narrative he contradicted his statement by admitting that he had been "conversant a while" with a notorious gang of "ruffling roisterers and dicers." The testimony of many documents in the Public Record Office is too conclusive evidence that Edward Underhill wasted his substance and was in chronic need of money. Before his conversion, his friendship with "ruffling roisterers" is explanation of his penuriousness; after his conversion, the habit of extravagance evidently persisted. Hence when he retired to the country it was natural for him to seek the vicinity of Coventry, for a little distant from that city, in the picturesque village of Baginton, was the home of his brother Ralph, and it was probably one of his messuages which was the house "in a wood side" in which the "Hot Gospeller" found a refuge. Hunningham, by the way, was only some five miles to the south, so that even at Baginton he was in his native district.

Unlike his elder brother, Ralph Underhill appears to have found his happiness in the life of a country gentleman:

> Content to breathe his native air
> In his own ground.

From his will and other documents it appears that he acquired considerable possessions in land and buildings at Baginton and in the adjacent parish of Stoneleigh, and the inventory attached to his last testament gives an attractive picture of his sixteenth-century rural home. In addition to the great hall, the focus of social life in Tudor days, his house included several other apartments and five

bedrooms; and the formidable array of pans and cauldrons and spits and chafing-dishes in the kitchen, with the milk-pans and cheese-presses and churns in the day-room, plus that pewter equipment which included two "great chargers" and twenty-six platters—exceeding in number those set down in the inventory of Catherine of Aragon—testify to many guests generously entertained. The great hall, with its spacious table, its massive sideboard adorned with silver-plate, its chairs and cushions and carpets and painted hangings, might have been in the mental vision of William Harrison when he recorded how the furnishing of Tudor houses had "grown in a manner even to passing delicacy." And the feather beds, the testers of red and yellow say, the pillows and counter-panes, the painted cloths and flaxen sheets in the sleeping chambers of that Underhill home at Baginton, were evidence of that "great amendment of lodging" which had superseded the straw pallets and wooden-log bolsters of earlier days. Indeed, when that inventory is carefully compared with kindred records of the same period, the conclusion is inevitable that Ralph Underhill was a notable example of the country gentleman of the mid-sixteenth century.

It is clear that Ralph and Edward Underhill were spiritual as well as uterine brothers. The exordium of the former's will, with its notable omission of obeisance to the Virgin Mary or oblations to high altars or the like, or any of the other phrases usual in a Catholic testament, is evidence that he, like his brother Edward, had forsaken the old faith for the new. Perhaps that community in religious belief accounts for the fact that, after making due provision for his widow "duringe her naturall lyfe,"

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, BAGINTON, NEAR KENILWORTH, ENGLAND

The church was founded in 1250, and tablets dated 1400 are to be seen on its walls

he constituted his brother heir to his estate. "After the decease of my said wyfe," his testament ran, "the remaynder thereof and of all my other landes to my brother Edwarde Underhill and to theyres males of his bodie lawfullie begotten." And, as if to make his brotherly affection still more emphatic and not wholly consequent on the death of his wife, the ultimate clause of his will stipulated: "The rest of all my goodes moveable and unmoveable not gyven nor bequeythed (my dettes and legacies beinge paied and this my last will p'formed and fulfyylled) I give and bequeythe them to Marie my wyef and Edward Underhill my brother to be equallie devyded betwene them by even porcions." [6]

Edward Underhill had not long to wait ere he enjoyed the full benefit of his brother's generosity. Ralph Underhill, though of "good and holle mind" when he indicted his last testament, was "of bodye sycke." His will was dated the 4th of May 1557; three days later he was dead. And his wife had passed away two days earlier. When, then, Edward Underhill proved his brother's will in the October of that year, he was probably already in possession of Ralph Underhill's home, and he appears to have spent the remainder of his life in that peaceful retreat. There can be little question that Ralph Underhill's abode was that "Underhill farm" of which the tradition still existed when Dugdale compiled his *Antiquities of Warwickshire;* but the bulk of his lands and possessions were soon sold by Edward, whose mature years seem to have been as notable for chronic financial difficulties as those of his prime. Our last glimpse of the

[6] Will of Ralph Underhill of Baginton, District Registry of Lichfield, now preserved at Birmingham. Proved at Lichfield by Edward Underhill, 12 Oct. 1557.

"Hot Gospeller" belongs to the year 1576, at which date he was described as living at Baginton.

But what of the two younger sons of the Hunningham household—Thomas and Hugh? It is singular that neither is mentioned in Ralph's will; but there is a dual explanation of that omission. All genealogists are agreed that the old pedigrees of armigerous families often ignored the existence of younger sons, just as they were little regarded by the families concerned. Although ultimogeniture was not unknown in ancient English legal custom, far more importance was attached to the principle of primogeniture, and particularly in the midland counties. Hence it is not altogether surprising that while the family records contain numerous references to the two elder sons of Thomas of Hunningham, they are silent as to the two younger scions. But there is another factor of still greater significance. For some reason of which no explanation has survived, the descendants of John of Ettington quarrelled and became divided into hostile camps. In that family feud the ringleader was William Underhill, that son of John of Ettington by his first wife to whom reference has already been made. It may have been that he resented being supplanted as his father's natural heir by the first-born of his second marriage with the heiress of the Porter family, compelling him to abandon the life of a country gentleman in favour of the legal profession. And, after his open breach with his nephew-ward Edward, he would naturally be regarded with goodwill by such disaffected relations as the two younger sons of the Hunningham family. In fact, Thomas and Hugh may reasonably have concluded that they had much to gain by keeping on good terms with

their lawyer uncle, for his legal associations and the connections he had made with influential persons while clerk to the House of Commons might enable him to secure for them openings for official careers.

In each case, such a probability became an actuality. As the elder of the two, Thomas was naturally the first to profit by the good services of his uncle William, who procured him a position, probably as a page, in the household of the Duke of Norfolk. There came a time, however, when that powerful noble-soldier found it necessary to sell some of his land and reduce his retainers, and Thomas Underhill was among those whose services were no longer required. But that he was regarded with special favour by the Duke is clear from the persistent efforts he made to procure him an official appointment in connection with the Corporation of the City of London. The evidence of those efforts exists among the unedited manuscripts at the Guildhall in the form of several letters in which "the Right honorable Lorde Duke of Norfolk" requested "the reuercien of the comon sergeant of London to be grauntyd unto Thomas Underhyll." The first of these letters bore the date of the 16th of March, 1540; others were written in the June of the same year, and in those further requests the office desired was described as that of "the sergeant at Armes callyd ye Comen Cryer of London." [7] Such a potent patron as his Grace of Norfolk could not be denied. The Aldermen quickly decided that Thomas Underhill should have "one of the Rowmes of the yongest karvers yn the lorde mayers howse," and a few weeks later he was granted a yearly salary of ten

[7] Guildhall MSS.: Repertories of the Court of Aldermen for the dates cited above.

marks sterling "vntyll suche tyme as the same Underhyll shalbe promotyd and preferred vnto some honest offyce within the seyd Cytye." Ere the year ended the Aldermen further agreed that the Duke's nominee should "haue the next avoydaunce of Thomas Cosbyes rowme nowe one of my lord Mayers Serieantes by whatsoever meanes the same shalbe come void." [8]

Although there does not appear to be any record of the exact date on which Thomas Underhill received the "honest office" of sergeant to the Lord Mayor, there is conclusive evidence that the appointment had been made prior to the June of 1543, for when, in that month, Henry VIII called upon the City authorities to supply him with a hundred men as their contribution to the army he was dispatching to France, the Aldermen decided that "Thomas Underhill, one of the Lord Mayor's sergeants, shall haue the charge of the conduction and leadynge of the said C men vnto our said souerayn Lordes Towne of Dover accordinge to the commandement in o^r said Souerayn lordes most gracyous lettres." [9]

Sixteen years later, in the October of 1559, Thomas Underhill was promoted to a still more notable "honest office" in connection with the City of London. The record set forth that the "rome and office of the Comon Hunt of this Cytie" should be granted to Thomas Underhill, "one of the Seriantes of my lord maieres howse, to haue and enieye the same wth all maner of ffree proffyttes and Commodities thereunto belonginge." [10] Thus his official association with the Corporation of London included service as a carver, as a sergeant, and as Master

[8] *Ibid.*, also Letter Book P. f. 227.
[9] Guildhall MSS.: Jornalia of the Court of Common Council, 6 June 1543.
[10] *Ibid.*, 4 October 1559.

of the Common Hunt. In the opinion of a distinguished archivist and authority on the ancient history of the City of London,[11] the various records summarized above have several points of unusual interest. The office of Carver to the Lord Mayor was given only to young men of good social standing, for in its banquet ritual "the City aped the Court." As to Underhill's final and most important office, the Common Hunt exercised duties comparable to those of a Master of the Hounds, which he would perform in connection with that hunting-box of the Lord Mayor which, in the sixteenth century, was situated in the region of the modern Oxford Street. In a plan of so late a date as 1708, "the Lord Mayor's Banqueting House" was clearly indicated; and a mid-eighteenth century engraving of the place portrays a building which, because of its Tudor qualities, may well have perpetuated the structure familiar to Thomas Underhill during his thirty years' connection with the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the capital.

That he was highly esteemed by the permanent officials and successive civic heads of the City is clear from a dramatic episode of the July of 1557. The incident was the subject of three minutes in the records of the Court of Aldermen, made respectively on the 6th, the 8th, and the 20th days of the month. The first of those entries stated how Thomas Underhill, "for his mysdemeane^r this day in the open streat in Cornehill in the presence of my lorde Mayor," was committed to Newgate; the second continued the story to the effect that on account of his "excedynge mysdemeane^r and veary heynous offence" he was, although released from prison, discharged from his

[11] Mr. A. H. Thomas, Clerk of the Records at the Guildhall.

office, "neuer to be restoryd agayne"; but the third embodied a satisfactory climax to the purport that, "upon his greate repentance and veary humble sute," he was "holy restoryd to his said rome and office agayne."[12] Even before his speedy pardon, Thomas Underhill may well have congratulated himself that his two days' imprisonment in Newgate was a minor punishment compared with the two months' confinement in the same place which his brother Edward had endured four years earlier. It is idle to speculate on the nature of his "excedynge mysdemeaner and veary heynous offence," for the records give no clue to the problem, and Machyn's *Diary* for the date is equally unilluminating; but the promptness of his pardon and full restitution to his office indicate that it may not have been so serious as the horrified scribe's "veary heynous" seems to imply. Besides, the eulogistic references to the Common Hunt for his "good and diligent service" are evidence that he was too valuable an official to be lightly set aside. Thomas Underhill never offended again; for when he indited his will in the March of 1571, a month before his death, he could still describe himself as "Common Hunte of the Cittie of London."

But to return to his younger brother, Hugh: how had he fared in the battle of life?

By a singular coincidence, the year of the first reference to Hugh Underhill is the same—1540—as that in which Thomas Underhill makes his initial appearance in the records of the City of London.

While, however, the senior of the two younger brothers of the Hunningham household emerges from obscurity in connection with the City, the junior is first discovered

[12] Guildhall MSS.: Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, 6, 8, 20 July 1557.

in the environment of the Court. Thomas Underhill, as has been seen, is preserved to memory by the records of the civic Guildhall; but Hugh Underhill owes his earliest identification to a document which associates him with a royal palace. For it is to the will of Richard Fowler,[13] indited in the August of 1540, that we are indebted for our earliest mention of Hugh Underhill. Describing himself as "keper of the Kinges maner place in Grenwiche," a claim which is fully substantiated by payments to him in "The Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII," Fowler made some forty bequests, which included the following: "Item, to hughe Vnderhill a sword and a buckler and iiij nobles in money."

From the nature of that bequest, it is a reasonable presumption that by 1540 Hugh Underhill had reached his majority, especially as the indications are that his birth had taken place about 1519. As a young man of about twenty-one, he had probably been for several years one of the junior retainers of the royal palace at Greenwich, thanks, no doubt, to the influence of his uncle William. Several fleeting references to him in the wills of persons indubitably connected with the royal household at Greenwich indicate that he was intimately acquainted with them and their families. But his position as one of the officials of the Court is established beyond question by two documents of 1562 and 1563. The first of these was the will of Thomas Mayneman,[14] made in the October of 1562, in which that keeper of the royal wardrobe at Greenwich, after making a bequest to "hughe vnderelles wyfe," stipulated that the residue of his estate was to be equally

[13] Register of Wills at Rochester: Liber Nonus, 1531-1542.
[14] Somerset House: Rochester Register No. 13, ff. lix-lxii.

divided between Hugh Underhill and another friend. Chief among the legatees, too, was his godson Thomas Underhill, the son of Hugh.

But the second document is still more conclusive. Thomas Mayneman died early in 1563, leaving a vacancy in the important office of the keeper of the wardrobe of Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich. Who was to be his successor? The answer is given by a paper in the State archives of England in the form of a royal warrant[15] issued under the Great Seal on the 6th of February, 1563. Official documents of that nature are usually repellent for their dry and tedious phraseology; but there are certain expressions in Hugh Underhill's warrant which seem to be of unusual warmth and colour. "We let you wit," so the royal mandate ran, "that in consideration of the true and faithful service heretofore done unto us by our well beloved servant Hugh Underhill, one of the officers of our wardrobe of beds, we have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant unto the said Hugh Underhill the keeping or the office of keeper of our wardrobe within our manor of Greenwich[16] in our county of

[15] Public Record Office: Roll of Letters Patent of 5 Elizabeth, Part I. C. 66, 987.

[16] Massachusetts and Greenwich (East Greenwich, as it was usually termed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) were to be related in a singular manner. In olden days, it was held that when unoccupied lands were conquered or discovered, the title thereto belonged to the Crown; hence the right to grant a charter for such lands was declared to be a prerogative of the Crown, with which Parliament had nothing to do. Consequently, the Charter granted by Charles I in 1629 to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England asserted again and again that the territory so granted was to be held "as of our manor of East Greenwich"; and when the General Court made its declaration of rights in 1661, it was admitted that Massachusetts was held "of his Majesty's manor of East Greenwich." Hence Captain John Underhill might have claimed a distinction not shared in by John Winthrop or any of his colleagues, in that his great grandfather, Hugh Underhill, had a lifelong association with that royal manor of Greenwich which was eventually to include within its domain the wide spaces of Massachusetts.

Kent." The appreciative note of that preamble seems accentuated by the further provisions of the warrant, which made the appointment life-long, and also declared that in the exercise of his office Hugh Underhill was to enjoy in "as large and ample manner" as any of his predecessors all the profits and rights of his position. His salary, too, of eight pence per day—twelve pounds a year—was to be retrospective in that it was to begin from the Michaelmas-day long past. And he was to have the unfettered appointment of the assistant who, at a wage of four pence a day, was to carry out his instructions for the "safe keeping and ordering of the stuff" in the royal wardrobe. Moreover, Hugh Underhill was to be allowed three pounds yearly for the purchase of wood and coal "for the continual airing and better safeguarding of our said stuff in our said wardrobe."

When translated into the currency of the twentieth century, twelve pounds a year seems a beggarly pittance—sixty dollars for twelvemonths' service to a Queen! But that was four centuries ago. And various factors have to be taken into account in appraising the comparative value of Hugh Underhill's salary. As an officer of the royal household he would be provided with suitable quarters and diet for himself and family, so that his twelve pounds a year would be fully equal in value to the twenty pounds a year which was the qualifying income at that period for a man who was deemed high enough in social rank to be the squire of a parish. The recognized salary for a parish priest in those days, too, was fixed at six pounds; and we know that the yeoman father of Hugh Latimer paid only four pounds a year for a farm sufficient in acreage to employ six men and provide pasturage

for a hundred sheep. Nor should it be forgotten that Hugh Underhill was empowered to enjoy to the utmost all the "profits, commodities and advantages" of his office. Altogether, his financial resources were considerable for the age in which he lived.

Yet whatever the sum total of his emoluments and profit and advantages, he earned it all. His duty as keeper of the wardrobe at Greenwich was no sinecure. The palace there, called Placentia by the Tudors, was the favourite residence of all that line with the possible exception of the unhappy Mary; and its salons and galleries and chambers were lavishly adorned with the finest examples of the tapestries and furniture and plate and paintings of the age. An inventory of the contents of the palace at the death of Henry VIII extends to no fewer than twenty-five spacious pages,[17] which are eloquently suggestive of the arduous labours of the official who was responsible for their custody. The hangings of Arras alone would be infinite riches for a modern museum, the very titles of which—"The Story of King David," "The Story of Youth," "The Seven Ages," "King Keeping Sheep,"—are sufficient to embark the imagination on "perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn." But there were besides countless hangings of tapestry and verdures, and Cloths of State and Chairs of State in gold and purple and crimson. Great carpets and small, stools and footstools and cushions; bedsteads of rich apparel; curtains and counterpoints of refulgent hues; and cabinets and sideboards and virginals and innumerable other objects of beauty and costliness were there in great profusion. Naturally, for there were numerous apartments in that

[17] British Museum: Harl. MS. 1419 A ff. 37-42.

palace of Placentia; the King's privy chamber, the closet adjacent to that chamber, the King's withdrawing chamber, the King's bed-chamber, the King's gallery, the King's library; and all the untold rooms which were a necessary part of the equipment of such a royal abode.

And the rich plenishings of that palace were greatly enhanced by the Virgin Queen. "Splendour and pleasure," wrote John Richard Green, "were with Elizabeth the very air she breathed. Her delight was to move in perpetual progresses from castle to castle through a series of gorgeous pageants, fanciful and extravagant as a Caliph's dream." And an earlier writer, Edmund Bohun, declared that "in the furniture of her palaces she ever affected magnificence and an extraordinary splendour." There is ample contemporary evidence for those statements. Baron Breuner, so early as 1559, reported: "I have seen several very fine summer residences that belong to her, in two of which I have been myself, and I may say that there are none in the world so richly garnished with costly furniture of silk, adorned with gold, pearls and precious stones." [18] And in 1584, one Lupold von Wadel, in an account of his travels in England, recorded how even the pulpit of the Greenwich chapel was covered with red gold-embroidered velvet, how the Queen's recess there was hung entirely with gold cloth, how Elizabeth's chamber was decorated with "tapestry wrought in silver and gold," and how she dined under a "canopy of cloth of gold" at a table resplendent with fine linen and costly plate.[19]

Much of that splendour entailed arduous responsibility

[18] *Elizabeth and Some Foreigners, Being a series of hitherto unpublished letters from the archives of the Hapsburg family,* ed. Victor von Klarwill, 78.
[19] *Ibid.*, 335, 336.

for Hugh Underhill. History takes cognizance of the gorgeousness of a great spectacle; it ignores those who set the stage. But Hugh Underhill is fortunate in that there has survived a document from which it is possible to divine a little of that attention to countless details which belonged to the routine of his office. The period was the July of 1572, when, apparently, preparations were being made not merely for Queen Elizabeth's summer progress of that year, but also for the issue to the wardrobe keepers of her various palaces of such "parcels of stuff" as would enable them to attend to necessary renovations during the absence of their Royal mistress. So a warrant was prepared under the Signet,[20] in which were carefully detailed what materials were to be delivered to the keepers of the royal wardrobes. Hugh Underhill, at "our manor of Greenwich," is conspicuous among those keepers, and for his sake, and for the glimpse it affords of the inner economy of a royal household in the sixteenth century, the list of the "parcels of stuff" that were to be issued to him is worth quoting in full.

Item, to Hugh Underhill, Keeper of our wardrobe at our manor of Greenwich: Four curtains of sarcanet (for four windows in our Gallery there) lined with buckram, with rings and rods of iron to the same. Eight curtains of sarcanet (to serve windows in our Privy Chamber and withdrawing chamber there) lined with buckram, with rings and rods accordingly. Twenty new brissells ticks every one of them to be nine quarters broad, to be filled with the feathers of so many old beds there, and one hundred stone of new feathers to perform the same new ticks, and to furnish ten old beds. Four demy carpets of Turkey making, for cupboards and tables. Twelve

[20] British Museum: Add. MS. 5751 B. f. 4.

small carpets of like making. Ten counter-points of tapestry of twenty ells Flemish the piece lined with canvas. Thirty pairs of Palliott sheets of Holland cloth of three breedes and three ells long the piece. Six hammers. Four thousand crochetts. Twelve thousand hooks. Six pounds of thread coarse and fine. Twelve pounds of round Liour. Six brushes. One ream of paper. One coal basket lined with leather. One leather pot and one gispen.

What all this may convey to male mentality is dubious; but no doubt the feminine imagination will find those minute details sufficient data from which to construct a lively picture of some of Hugh Underhill's varied activities.

Nor should it be forgotten that while the oversight of sarcenet curtains and Turkey carpets and thousands of hooks, etc., was part of "the trivial round, the common task" of the Greenwich wardrobe keeper, there were numerous special occasions which must have added greatly to his responsibilities. Perhaps those red-letter days were their own compensation in making Hugh Underhill a privileged spectator of some of the most stirring and picturesque episodes of Elizabethan history.

That he faithfully and efficiently discharged all his many duties, and, indeed, enjoyed the special favour of Queen Elizabeth, is a natural inference from the distinction which was bestowed upon him in the December of 1590. Among the cultivated grounds of the manor at Greenwich was a pleasance which Elizabeth regarded as "our garden," and which was distinctively known as "the Queen's Garden." This was undoubtedly the choice preserve of all the pleasure grounds of the palace, the model, perchance, which Bacon had in mind when he

depicted the "royal ordering of gardens" and dwelt upon the "green grass kept finely shorn," the "arbours and seats" and "close alleys," and the gay procession of seasonable blossoms and fragrances which should pertain to "the purest of human pleasures." That "Queen's Garden" was a territory outside the domain of the head gardener of the palace, and seems to have been open only to such privileged friends of Elizabeth as the Earl of Leicester, who frequented it for confidences too intimate for exchange within the walls of the palace.

Such was the unique pleasance for the care of which Hugh Underhill and his wife were made responsible in the December of 1590. The Royal grant[21] set forth that by the "special grace" of the Queen, her "well-beloved subjects Hugh Vndrell . . . and Katherine his wife" were appointed to "the office of keeper or the keepership of our garden within our manor of East Greenwich, in our county of Kent, commonly called 'the Queen's Garden' "; that the office was to be exercised by themselves "or their sufficient deouties" for their lives or the life of the survivor; and that for remuneration they were to be paid fourpence a day plus a yearly annuity of twenty-two shillings and sixpence. And Hugh and Katherine Underhill were also to enjoy "all other profits, commodities, advantages and emoluments" pertaining to the office.

That reference in the royal warrant to "Katherine his wife" naturally diverts attention to the domestic life of Hugh Underhill. The Katherine mentioned was his second wife. The exact date of his first marriage, and the Christian and surname of his first wife, have hitherto

[21] Public Record Office: Roll of Letters Patent of 32 Elizabeth, Part II., C 66, 1347.

cluded discovery. At the time when he received Richard Fowler's legacy—August, 1540—he was presumably unmarried; but as Thomas, the son of his first union, was born in 1545, that union probably took place in 1544. There is no evidence as to the date when the mother of Thomas died; she was certainly living in 1562, when she was a legatee under the will of Thomas Mayneman. What is known, however, is that by 1574 Hugh Underhill was a widower, for in that year he espoused as his second wife Katherine Manning, of Down, in the county of Kent. That marriage, especially when regarded in connection with Hugh Underhill's claim to the title of "gentleman," is significant of his social status. In the late Elizabethan period, as such a contemporary as William Harrison testified, the term "gentleman" was usually restricted to those who had the right to bear arms, and to the younger branches of such families. Such a family was that of the Mannings, of Down, to which Katherine belonged. Her uncle was that Sir Henry Manning who was Marshal of the Household at Greenwich to Henry VIII and his three children; and Henry Manning, the Doctor of Laws who figures in many Greenwich wills, was consequently a first cousin. She had, too, another first cousin, Margaret Manning, who became the third wife of Thomas Howard, Viscount Bindon, who, as the second son of the third Duke of Norfolk, was a cousin of Queen Elizabeth.

So far as the State records go, the final reference to Hugh Underhill belongs to the February of 1590, when he procured for his son Thomas the reversion of his office as keeper of the royal wardrobe at Greenwich. And in the lists of the servants of the royal household are to be found, year by year, entries which indicate how Hugh

Underhill's name gradually moved upward until it headed the roll as the senior of all.

And then, on the first day of 1593, came the premonition of the end. For on that day Hugh Underhill set his hand and seal to his "last will and testament." [22] The brevity of the document is evidence that in this instance there was more significance than usual in the customary phrase of "sicke and weake in bodye"; for as the order for the Letters Patent appointing his successor was dated February, it follows that Hugh Underhill died on a day of the January of 1593.

His bequests were few. They included twenty shillings to the poor of Greenwich, a similar sum for his servant Thomas Lilly, and a gilt spoon to each of the overseers of his will. And then, apart from one other legacy, he devised that all his other "goods and Chatells," his debts and funeral charges being paid, were to be "fully and whollye" divided between his "welbeloved wyfe Katherine Vnderhill and George Vnderhill my sonne." But what of his first-born son, Thomas? The answer is supplied by these words: "Item, I give and bequeathe unto Hugh Vnderhill, the son of Thomas Vnderhill my son deceased, one good bedd well and thoroughly furnished." In vain had Hugh Underhill procured for his first-born the reversion of his own office in the royal household at Greenwich; for by the June of 1591, some fifteen months after that reversion had been sanctioned, Thomas Underhill had passed away in his forty-sixth year.

Judging from the exordium of his will, Hugh Underhill, like his friend and predecessor, Thomas Mayneman, was an adherent of the Reformed faith; for, eschewing

[22] Somerset House: 57 Neville.

all references to the Virgin Mary and the Saints, to high altars and oblations, to dirge or mass, he professed his belief in these simple words: "Ffirst and before all things, I commend my Sowle into the handes of Almighty God the Creator, hoping most assuredly to obtayne salvacon in and by the deathe and merrites of Jesus Christ my Redemer." Such a declaration of faith would have won the complete agreement of those Puritan pioneers of New England with whom Hugh Underhill's great-grandson was destined to be so intimately associated.

CHAPTER II

THOMAS UNDERHILL OF KILLINGWORTH

WHEN Queen Elizabeth, in the February of 1563, appointed Hugh Underhill to be "keeper of our wardrobe within our manor of Greenwich," he was given full authority to select his own assistant in the "safe keeping and ordering" of the treasures committed to his charge. The Queen, the warrant ran, did "assigne, appoynte and allowe vnto the said hughe Vnderhill, keper of our Wardrobe aforesaid, one seruante, to be from tyme to tyme chosen and appoynted by the said hughe Vnederhill"; and his wages were to be "foure pence by the day of good and lawful money of England," that is, half the salary of the wardrobe keeper in chief.

Who was Hugh Underhill's "seruante"? There can be little doubt that he employed his son Thomas in that capacity. By the date of his appointment, that son had reached his eighteenth year, and hence was of an age when he would be most useful in assisting his father in the "safe keeping and ordering" of Elizabeth's wardrobe in the royal palace of Greenwich.

That Thomas Underhill had been, indeed, from his youth associated with the royal retainers at Greenwich is a reasonable inference from the prominence given him in the will [1] of his father's predecessor, Thomas Mayneman, whose favourite godson he was. The legacies to him were

[1] Somerset House: Rochester Register, No. 13, ff. lix-lxii.

of the greatest monetary value, and in addition to leaving him practically the whole of his military equipment—consisting of sword and buckler, several sets of bows and arrows, a bill and a javelin, and a suit of armour—there were two bequests of distinctive value and significance. One of these was "a beddstedd with turned postes." That this was no ordinary bedstead is clear from the additional descriptive details, which dwell upon its tester of blue damask figured with golden fleurs-de-lis and fringed with blue silk, its five curtains of blue satin, and its appurtenances of mattress, feather-bed, bolster and pillow and sheets. But more significant, and with the potency of larger issues, was that clause of the will which read: "Item, I give to the said Thomas my New Testament, my Bible, and all the rest of my books."

Why was Thomas Underhill made the legatee of that New Testament and Bible? Why did Thomas Mayneman pass over his brother; his cousin, that John Mayneman who was a "priest and parson" in Lincolnshire; and also the two schoolmasters to whom he left other bequests? Was it not because he had discerned in his favourite godson an eagerness for the new faith comparable with his own? Unquestionably, Thomas Underhill had enrolled himself in the Protestant ranks, as one who refused to live any longer in a lie, as one who had recoiled from a religion in which "the service of God was buried in a system where obedience was dissipated into superstition," and where, "instead of leading a holy life, men were taught that their souls might be saved through masses said for them, at a money rate, by priests whose licentiousness disgraced the nation which endured it."

But those "all the rest of my books" which accompanied that New Testament and Bible—what were they? Thomas Mayneman's will, indicted nigh four centuries ago, gives no answer. Yet the books which are specified provide a clue to those which are not. Of the secular literature of those days only limited editions were available at prices prohibitive to moderate means; but the pamphlets of the Reformers, from Simon Fish's "A Supplication for the Beggars" and Tyndale's glowing tracts, to the virile sermons of Hugh Latimer and many kindred anti-Romanistic volumes, were plentiful and cheap. So there passed into the possession of Thomas Underhill a collection of books which does much to explain why, some seventy years later, his grandson, Captain John Underhill, became the militant leader of the great Puritan immigration.

That by his early manhood Thomas Underhill had acquired considerable education is beyond doubt. Had he been an illiterate Thomas Mayneman would not have made him the inheritor of his books; and that he was fully competent in the use of his pen conclusive evidence will be adduced in due course. We know from Thomas Mayneman's will that there was an educator at Greenwich in the person of that "willyam Cogyner scolemaster" who was not merely a beneficiary under that document but also one of those who witnessed the testator's signature. Nor should another factor be overlooked. If modern research has deprived Edward VI of his traditional renown as the promoter of free grammar-schools and proved him to have been a despoiler of such institutions, the boy King cannot be denied the distinction of having devoted much attention to the education of

the youths connected with the royal household. In the penultimate year of his brief reign, he authorized a patent whereby a special school was established for the youths of the Court;[2] and it may be safely presumed that Thomas Underhill, then in his seventh year, was one of those who derived benefit from that provision.

When his kindly godfather died in 1563, Thomas Underhill was in his eighteenth year; and his next definite appearance in the old documents does not occur until the fall of 1572, by which date he had acquired a wife, Magdalen by name, and a son.

Who was Magdalen Underhill, and when did he marry her? Precise evidence is lacking; even if the register of marriages had been carefully kept at Greenwich in obedience to the order of 1538, it no longer exists; but it is practically certain that Thomas Underhill's bride was a daughter of the Amyas family of Greenwich.[3] That the Underhill and Amyas families were intimately acquainted is beyond question. The Subsidy Roll for 1549 describes John Amyas as a yeoman of the King's Armoury, and at that date Hugh Underhill had been associated with the royal retainers for a decade. And as John Amyas did not die until 1553, the two were obviously colleagues for some years. In view of the evidence given above, there is little hazard in concluding

[2] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials,* Vol. II, Part II, 50.

[3] Mr. J. H. Morrison, whose careful and exhaustive researches at the Public Record Office, Somerset House, the British Museum, and other depositories of ancient documents, have been of inestimable value in elucidating the English ancestry of Captain John Underhill, originated this identification. His examination of Greenwich wills has led him to the conclusion that the families who were associated with the royal household constituted "a small and closely connected society"; and he adds: "Magdalen is a distinctly uncommon name. I have now examined over 200 Greenwich wills of the sixteenth century, and this is the first mention of the name in any of them."

that Hugh Underhill's son found his bride among the daughters of John Amyas.

That there were three to choose from is evident from the will which their widowed mother, Anne Amyas, executed in the May of 1553 shortly after her husband's death.[4] That testament is proof that the Amyas family was of good social standing and of considerable means. After making generous provision for her four sons, Anne Amyas directed that each of her three daughters—Jane, Magdalen and Mary—was to have a portion of twenty pounds "at the dayes of their mariage or els when they shall accomplesshe the age of twentye yeres, which tyme as it shall fortune ffirst to be." Nor was that all. Each of the three was to receive a silver bowl, four of their mother's "best Siluer Spones," and, more valuable still for prospective housekeeping, a bedstead fully equipped with feather-bed and pillows and sheets and blankets and counterpanes.

Thomas Underhill and Magdalen Amyas were nearly of equal age, with the balance of years, however, in accordance with the precept

> Let still the woman take
> An elder than herself: so wears she to him,
> So sways she level in her husband's heart.

And if, at the time of their marriage in 1570 or 1571, Magdalen Amyas had not quite attained the age of "twentye yeres," she would still have been able to contribute her dot and bedstead to the equipment of the new home. As Thomas Underhill had also acquired a bedstead from his godfather's property, the young couple

[4] Somerset House: Rochester Register, No. 13, f. 176.

were well provided with that important article of Tudor housekeeping.

In the fall of the year in which Hugh Underhill became keeper of the royal wardrobe at Greenwich an event occurred which was to have momentous consequences for his son Thomas. From the day of Elizabeth's succession, no noble was more conspicuous at Court than "my lord Robert Dudley," that son of the Duke of Northumberland whom, with transient exceptions, the Queen regarded with singular favour until his death thirty years later. The palace at Greenwich was Elizabeth's favourite residence, and alike in the quiet routine of ordinary life or amid the pageants of great state occasions "my lord Robert Dudley" was ever a prominent figure; and as Hugh Underhill became so important an official of that palace soon after Elizabeth ascended the throne, it was inevitable that Lord Robert Dudley should become well acquainted with him and his son. Now, in the fall of 1563 Elizabeth made a generous addition to her favourite's estates by presenting him with the noble domain of Kenilworth castle and manor; and a year later she created him Earl of Leicester.

Kenilworth—or Killingworth, for the names were used indifferently in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—[5]

[5] As the use of the form "Killingworth" in preference to "Kenilworth" is so vital a link in the evidence of the ancestry of Captain John Underhill, it is important to cite some examples of its employment as a synonym. When Elizabeth visited the Earl of Leicester in the August of 1572, her secretary, Sir Thomas Smith, subscribed several official letters as having been written at "Killingworth." Laneham's description of the famous revels of 1575, which was published the same year, affected the "Killingworth" form. Twenty years later, Shakespeare, who would be familiar with the Warwickshire custom, wrote "Killingworth" in 2 Henry VI. In 1609, 1611, 1616 and later, "Killingworth" persisted in official documents as a recognized substitute for the now more familiar "Kenilworth." In 1653, indeed, Izaak Walton used "Killingworth" in "The Compleat Angler." And there are many proofs that "Killingworth" was the form always used by the ancestors of Captain John Underhill.

was already rich in historical associations. A castle was erected there as early as 1172; and it had many royal owners down to Henry VIII. But at the time it became the property of the Earl of Leicester, considerable repairs were necessary. Not content with those renovations, however, he, between 1564 and 1571, made extensive additions to the building, at a cost which has been estimated as equivalent to a present-day value of three million dollars. Nor was Leicester the type of man to be satisfied with mere outward magnificence of stately masonry. No nobleman of the Elizabethan, or, indeed, any era, furnished his mansions with more profuse luxury. In due time, the plenishings of his Warwickshire seat could vie with those of any of the royal palaces; and as his Queen had her keeper of the wardrobe, he, too, required a similar official. And the man he selected for that responsible position was Thomas Underhill, the son of Elizabeth's wardrobe keeper at Greenwich. The date of the appointment is uncertain, but as Thomas Underhill and his wife were in possession of property at Killingworth in the October of 1572, he was probably installed in his office a year or so prior to that date. He had reached his twenty-sixth year, and his experience with his father in the royal palace at Greenwich had fully qualified him to render efficient service as the custodian of Leicester's household treasures.

Save for separation from their relations and friends at Greenwich, the young couple were singularly fortunate in the change. Robert Laneham, who visited Killingworth a few years later, described the place as being "as it were in the centre of England." And at a junction of roads not far distant is an oak tree for which the same

KENILWORTH (KILLINGWORTH) CASTLE

As it appeared when Thomas Underhill was steward to the Earl of Leicester, before 1585, showing the Great Gate House on the right, recently opened to the public

claim is made to this day. Whatever truth there may be in those assertions, the symbolism is undeniable. Warwickshire is the soul of things English; and Killingworth is a typical region of that favoured county. When Thomas and Magdalen Underhill removed thither about 1571, they were within a few miles of the six-year-old boy whose genius was to give undying expression to all the loveliness of the Warwickshire landscape, for it was from the memories of childhood and early manhood that Shakespeare was to weave into the pastoral scenes of his drama those exquisite pictures of rural beauty which are still haunted by the creatures of his fancy. Though they knew it not, their lot had been cast in the idyllic world of Rosalind and Titania and all the elves and fairies of midsummer night dreams. They had come to a land where the woodland copses gleamed with daffodils that took "the winds of March with beauty," where "cuckoo buds of yellow hue" painted "the meadows with delight," where many a grassy bank was "over-canopied with luscious woodbine," and where woodland violets strewed "the green lap of the new-come Spring."

Killingworth, indeed, was an enviable spot in the late sixteenth century. Situated, as Laneham noted, on "an easily-mounted hill," distinguished for its "sweet and wholesome" air, diversified "from dale to hill," enriched with "goodly pools" and "sweet springs," encompassed about with meadows and woods, and sentinelled by "tall and fresh fragrant trees," it is little wonder that this had long been a favourite domain of the kings of England. And it was no small proof of Elizabeth's regard for the Earl of Leicester that she had made him a present of manor and castle alike.

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For, then as now, the scene was dominated by that stately stronghold which had borne the brunt of so many assaults in the lawless days of ancient England. But the Tudor dynasty had given law and peace to the land; and the Earl of Leicester could repair and enlarge the castle in the assurance that he would enjoy it as a palace rather than need it for a fortress. An old engraving, based on an original fresco painting, gives a comprehensive view of the castle and its surroundings as they appeared to Thomas and Magdalen Underhill. If the painter was architectural rather than artistic, so much the better in this instance: he provided data to which each imagination can impart its own glamour of romance.

Remembering that the encircling battlemented wall enclosed an area of some seven acres, and that the surrounding parks and meadows and chases had a circuit of twenty miles, it is easy to agree with the old surveyor who declared that for "strength, state and pleasure" the castle and manor excelled any other "within the realm of England." Whoso would "tell the towers" and mark the bulwarks of this earthly Zion and consider its palaces, may do so by an orderly examination of the ancient engraving. In the right background stands the Swan Tower; the more massive structure of the middle distance is the great Gate House; then follow in the foreground Lunn's Tower and the Water Tower; while the elongated structure of the left middle distance is the Mortimer's Tower which guarded one end of the Tilt-yard. At the other end of the Tilt-yard is that Gallery Tower which was specially designed to accommodate spectators of the tournaments enacted below. Between the wall and the chief buildings is the spacious Outer Ward; while to

the right is that "goodly garden" with its "very fair fountain" which prompted Robert Laneham to pen one of his most ecstatic sentences. There, he exclaimed, one could, in the heat of summer, "feel the pleasant whisking wind above, or delectable coolness of the fountain-spring beneath," what time the idler feasted upon "delicious strawberries, cherries, and other fruits" to the accompaniment of "fragrancy of sweet odours" and the "natural melodious music and tunes of birds."

Turning to the buildings which occupy the central middle distance, the massive structure to the right is that sturdy keep known as Cæsar's Tower, while the balancing erection on the left consists of Leicester's Buildings, the two wings being connected with the more dwarfed Henry VIII's Lodgings. Over the roof of that curtain-like structure is seen a glimpse of the Inner Ward, in the background of which is the Great Hall, connected on the left with the White Hall. Those spacious apartments were naturally the venue of the banquets and masques and revels of great occasions.

Such was the Warwickshire seat of the Earl of Leicester. "Every room," Laneham rhapsodized, "so spacious, so well belighted, and so high roofed within: so seemly to sight by due proportion without. In day-time on every side so glittering by glass; at nights, by continual brightness of candle, fire, and torch-light, transparent thro' the lightsome windows, as it were the Egyptian Pharos relucent unto all the Alexandrian coast." Nor were the appointments of the castle less luxurious than its architecture. The loquacious Laneham, barren of adjectives for once, confined his eulogies to "fully furnished of rich apparel and utensils" and "ornaments of house, rich arras

and silk"; but there has survived from those far-off years an inventory which is proof that the great halls and privy chambers of Leicester's stately home were as magnificently furnished as any royal abode.

Great indeed, then, must have been the confidence of Elizabeth's favourite in the trustworthiness and capabilities of Thomas Underhill when he decided to constitute him the chief custodian of Killingworth castle. Unlike his father, Hugh Underhill, whose duties were restricted to the wardrobe department of the Greenwich palace, Thomas Underhill's functions at Killingworth included a combination of the duties of the Lord Steward and the Lord Chamberlain of the royal household. Not that Leicester dared to distinguish him by such high-sounding titles. By his heavy fine of the earl who had made too great a display of his retainers, the first of the Tudors had taught the nobility a sharp lesson in the danger of maintaining households that might rival that of their sovereign; and the last of the Tudors was too jealous of her regal state to connive at any magnificence which might challenge comparison with her own Court. Nevertheless, Thomas Underhill's duties and responsibilities for the interior economy of Killingworth were comparable to those of the royal Steward and Chamberlain.

Before turning to a few of those great occasions during which his energies must have been taxed to the utmost, some account may be given of his domestic and social life.

A survey made in the twenty-third year of Elizabeth's reign gives us our first glimpse of Thomas and Magdalen Underhill in their new home.[6] Although this document, which describes the manor of Killingworth and takes

[6] Public Record Office: A Survey of 23 Elizabeth: LR2, 185 ff. 42-49.

account of its boundaries, is dated in 1581, it embodies evidence of earlier years, derived from the sworn testimony of "vij auncient wise and grave men Tenauntes of the saide Mannor" as well as from written records. Among the many entries devoted to the customary tenants of the manor is the following:

Thomas Vndrehill, Magdalen his wife, and Thomas, their son, hold for the term of their life, etc. by copyhold dated 21st day of October in the 14th year of the Lady Elizabeth Queen 9 messuages formerly in the tenure of Laurence Glover, one garden and one close called Shoters close—5 acres of meadow. And one other close called Rounsell Close lying within the chase of the lord containing 4 acres of pasture. Paying yearly 26/8.

Clarified into ordinary language, the purport of that entry is that, by the fall of 1572, Thomas Underhill and his wife and infant son were in the possession at Killingworth of nine dwelling-houses and nine acres of land, and that the yearly rent of the whole was less than seven dollars! If he really had those nine dwellings, it is obvious that eight of them would have been superfluous; and according to another document [7] he seems in the same year to have established his home in a house in the High Street, to which a garden was attached and perhaps a close. Some ten years later, namely in 1581, with children increasing and larger accommodation becoming necessary, Thomas Underhill appears to have removed to the New Rent, where he had a house and garden and close, and also to have secured the copyhold ownership of some houses opposite his own dwelling, and all for the annual rental of twenty shillings or five dollars!

[7] Public Record Office: E 178, 2353.

Between his settlement at Killingworth about 1571 and his death in 1591, Thomas Underhill, owing to the favour by which he was regarded by the Earl of Leicester, obtained an interest in considerable property. Thus, in 1576 the Earl granted him from his Warwickshire estate a yearly rent of ten pounds for the term of his life; in 1579 Magdalen Underhill was granted pasturage for eight cows; and later her husband acquired a valuable pasturage known as the Abbey Park.[8] Practically all this property was held on a copyhold tenure, that is to say, at the will of the lord of the manor and by means of the entry in the roll of the manor court. In one or two cases a heriot condition was attached, which implied that the lord of the manor could claim the best beast of the tenant when the copyhold lapsed. Those copyholds, however, had a greater value and security of tenure than the foregoing implies. From a letter written by Richard Sutton to Sir Robert Cecil in 1593,[9] having reference to a "copyhold in Killingworth," it appears that Leicester's tenants were allowed to deal in copyholds as though they were freeholds, and sell their interest to the highest bidder.

In view of the wistful interest in the Killingworth associations of his grandfather and father which Captain John Underhill retained all through his life, it would be gratifying to trace on the map of that region the names of the localities of their homes and lands. The first atlas[10] of England was published some ten years after Thomas Underhill settled in Warwickshire, but the county maps in

[8] *Ibid.:* 2350. MSS. of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, 389.
[9] MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury, IV, 370-371.
[10] In the British Museum (Old Royal Library MS. 18D. III.) is preserved Lord Burghley's own copy of that atlas, and the Earl of Leicester's Warwickshire manor is there entitled "Killingworth."

that work were on too small a scale to allow room for merely parochial names. When, however, the most recent and authoritative map—that is, the Ordnance Survey of 1926—is carefully examined, the searcher after name survivals cannot fail to derive singular satisfaction from the identification of the majority of the places associated with Thomas Underhill. The locality of Shoter's Close eludes discovery; but the High Street and New Rent abodes of the family, and the Abbey Park pasturage, may be traced on the modern map. In the case of the High Street no change of name has taken place; the New Rent of the sixteenth century is undoubtedly represented by that New Row which leads directly to the castle. And the Abbey Park grazing ground is identical with that undulating meadow which slopes from the parish church and the ruins of the Augustinian Abbey. There is less certainty as to the whereabouts of that Rounsell Close which lay "within the chase of the lord," but the name at least is perpetuated in that Roundshill Lane which meanders around the estate, and perhaps in the Rouncil Towers of to-day. Although precise evidence is lacking, it is a reasonable inference from a survey of the manor made in 1591 that the chief Killingworth home of Thomas Underhill was that dwelling in the New Rent which he acquired in 1581, for the land attached to that messuage was more considerable in extent than that of the High Street house. In New Rent, too, Leicester's steward would be close to the scene of his arduous daily labours.

As the first-born, Thomas, had undoubtedly seen the light at Killingworth, so all the other six children of whom there is record could claim the same birthplace.

To Thomas succeeded John, and then followed George, Lettice, Mary, Hugh, and Clement. The years of their births ranged from about 1574 to 1586, and it will be obvious that between those dates other children may have been added to the family; but if so they died in infancy. Even the eldest, Thomas, died before 1597, leaving John the heir. Of Clement there is no record save the name, and as that was used indifferently for boy or girl, the sex of that member of the family cannot be determined. The children who survived were to Thomas Underhill an endorsement of the happiness postulated in that Bible he had inherited from Thomas Mayneman; his wife was "as a fruitful vine" and his children "like olive branches" round his table.

As had been the experience of his father at Greenwich, his position as the most confidential retainer of the Queen's favourite enriched Thomas Underhill and his family with a dual social life. He was naturally well acquainted with those who belonged to Leicester's household at the castle; but there were also many among the non-official residents of Killingworth whom he and his wife counted among their friends. Transient glimpses of those friendships are preserved among some of the wills of the late sixteenth century. Thus while the last testament of Francis Price, "victuler," with its record of thirteen shillings owing to "Mrs. Underhill," is more evidence of Magdalen Underhill's industry than social relations, there is no mistaking the bond of friendship which prompted William Browne, "yoman," to bequeath to "Mawdelen Underhill a borde (table) cloth of flaxen of ell brode" and "one dosen of table napkyns." Another Killingworth deposition, that of Walter Yates, also a yeo-

man, is significant for its testimony to Thomas Underhill's armigerous status, for not merely is he described in the document as "Thomas Underhill gent" but the qualifying word of "gent" is even added to his signature.

While, however, he was fortunate in his friendships and domestic relations, his exacting duties as the Earl of Leicester's most responsible retainer must have been all absorbing. Even when Leicester was not in residence, the ordering of his household and the care of his treasures were laborious occupations; but there were notable occasions when his capabilities must have been tested to a phenomenal degree. One of those abnormal occasions occurred ere he had held his office a couple of years; for in the August of 1572 Queen Elizabeth honoured her favourite by staying at his castle for several days.

That visit was made as part of the programme of the Queen's summer progress, and it coincided with what promised to be a crucial episode in the latest of her matrimonial intrigues. During the previous year she had coquetted with Henry, Duke of Anjou, but that son of Catherine de Medici, though professing that to him the English sovereign was "the most perfect beauty that God had made during the last five hundred years," finally abandoned his suit on the pretence of difference in religion. The Queen-mother of France, however, true to her renown as "Madame la Serpente," and conscious of the advantage of an alliance with England, offered as a substitute for Anjou her younger son, François, Duke of Alençon. That candidate for Elizabeth's hand was nearly twenty years the junior of the prospective bride. Nor was disparity of age his only handicap. He was stunted of stature, swarthy of complexion, hoarse of voice, and

was thickly scarred with pock-marks, especially on "the blunt end of his nose." Nevertheless, Elizabeth, probably in pursuit of her policy to foster enmity between France and Spain, made no demur to Alençon's suit. Thus encouraged, Catherine de Medici sent Alençon's most intimate friend, M. de la Mole, on a special embassy to England, and the French ambassador, M. la Mothe Fénelon, was instructed to forward the marriage to the utmost of his ability. It so happened that La Mole reached London after Elizabeth had begun her progress; but he and La Mothe were informed that the Queen would receive them at Killingworth.

She kept her promise. And the accession of visitors to Leicester's castle which that involved added materially to the anxieties and labours of Thomas Underhill.

For even the normal summer progresses of Elizabeth were the occasion of anxious responsibilities and heavy expenses for those of her subjects whom she honoured with her presence. Even for individuals who joined her retinue, the cost was formidable. One of Alençon's representatives was greatly perturbed at his lack of money in view of "the expenses he would incur if he had to follow the Queen of England in her coming progress." Her whilom champion, Sir Henry Lee, bewailed that her visits had been his financial "undoing"; a sheriff of one county testified that one progress had cost him so much that he was compelled to "live obscure"; and Sir Henry Cocke implored Sir Robert Cecil for funds because "all things are to be provided." Another serious problem was the provision of sleeping accommodation for the lords and ladies who accompanied their sovereign, as is clear from the letter in which the dowager Lady Russell assured

Cecil that the best she could do for him and two other lords and their ladies was to offer them "three bedchambers, with inner chambers, castle fashion."[11] It is true that the castle at Killingworth was unusually spacious, but in view of the fact that Elizabeth was attended by her chief officers of State, and that the concourse was greatly increased by the presence of the two French emissaries of Alençon and their many attendants, Thomas Underhill had an exacting task in allotting and equipping suitable accommodation for all. Those anxious days, however, enriched him with valuable experience for that memorable occasion when his organizing gifts and the resources of the castle were to be taxed to the utmost.

For the most resplendent chapter in the history of Killingworth castle, familiar in literature by Sir Walter Scott's romance of *Kenilworth,* was to be written three years subsequent to that summer visitation of 1572. Whether, in addition to his inherent passion for ostentation, Leicester's prodigal entertainment of Queen Elizabeth in the July of 1575 had its primary motive in a final attempt to realize his ambition to become King, is a problem beyond solution. Much might be urged in support of such a theory; for although his relations with the dowager Lady Douglas Sheffield had begun two years earlier, he regarded that connection as so little binding that three years later he went through a ceremony of marriage with Lettice Knollys, the widow of the Earl of Essex. Evidently, then, in the July of 1575 he regarded himself as free to become Elizabeth's consort. And that he had not relinquished that ambition is the only reasonable inference

[11] MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury: II, 411; X, 180, 220, 269; XII, 279.

from an allusion in one of the poems composed for the "princely pleasures" at Killingworth.

Whatever Leicester's motives, the chief responsibility for organizing and carrying out the numerous and varied festivities of the Queen's visit rested upon his most confidential retainer, Thomas Underhill. That Saturnalia of revelry and feasting was protracted for nineteen days; and as the guests included the Queen and her ladies besides "forty earls, and seventy other principal *milords*," and as all and sundry were welcome to refreshments, the catering alone entailed abnormal forethought and the provision of prodigious supplies of food and drink. Robert Laneham, the careful chronicler of the festivities, asserted that at every hour of every day there were full cups of "all kinds of wine," while ale and beer were quaffed to the extent of five thousand gallons a day. In addition to the supplies from his own manor and the neighbouring farmers, Leicester received generous contributions of meat and game from many of his friends, Sir Henry Sidney, for one, sending "two great fat oxen" and a hundred fat sheep and "divers kinds of poultry." All the other preparations were equally lavish. They amazed the vivacious Laneham. He had travelled, he said, in many lands, but for persons, place, time, cost, and devices he had seen nothing so memorable.

Owing to having been led far afield by following the chase, the sun was low in the west on that July day of 1575 ere Elizabeth reached the precincts of the castle. Hardly, however, had the Queen entered the park than, from an arbour near the highway, there emerged a graceful maiden attired in white silk, who, as one of the Sibyls, greeted the illustrious guest with poetic welcome:

And while your Highness here abides,
  Nothing shall rest unsought,
That may bring pleasure to your mind,
  Or quiet to your thought.
And so pass forth in peace, O Prince
  Of high and worthy praise:
The God that governs all in all,
  Increase your happy days!

Resuming her progress to the castle, the Queen, on passing the first gate into the Tilt-yard, was brought to a halt once more by the protests of a stalwart porter who, clad in silk, and bearing a huge club in one hand and a bunch of keys in the other, fumed and stormed at this unseemly invasion of his domain. Such a riding to and fro, such shouting, such commotion he would not endure "while club and limbs do last." But as he caught sight of the Queen, anger gave place to amazement and full surrender:

Come, come, most perfect Paragon;
  Pass on with joy and bliss:
Most worthy welcome Goddess guest,
  Whose presence gladdeth all.
Have here, have here, both club and keys;
  Myself my ward I yield;
Even gates and all, yea Lord himself,
  Submit and seek your shield.

Although made free of the castle in such generous fashion, Elizabeth was not allowed to "pass on" very far. No sooner had the six trumpeters, each ensconced in a huge pasteboard figure to make him of giant size, emphasized the porter's welcome by a musical blast on their tapering silver trumpets, than, over the waters of the moat, there floated towards the Queen a "movable

island, bright blazing with torches," on which stood the Lady of the Lake, another radiant maiden who, also in verse, implored her highness to listen to the ancient story of the castle she was gracing with her presence. Although doubtless weary with her day's ride and hunting, Elizabeth again drew rein. This time her patience was not greatly taxed, for the Lady of the Lake soon exhausted her seven stanzas with the couplet:

> Pass on, Madame, you need no longer stand;
> The Lake, the Lodge, the Lord, are yours to command.

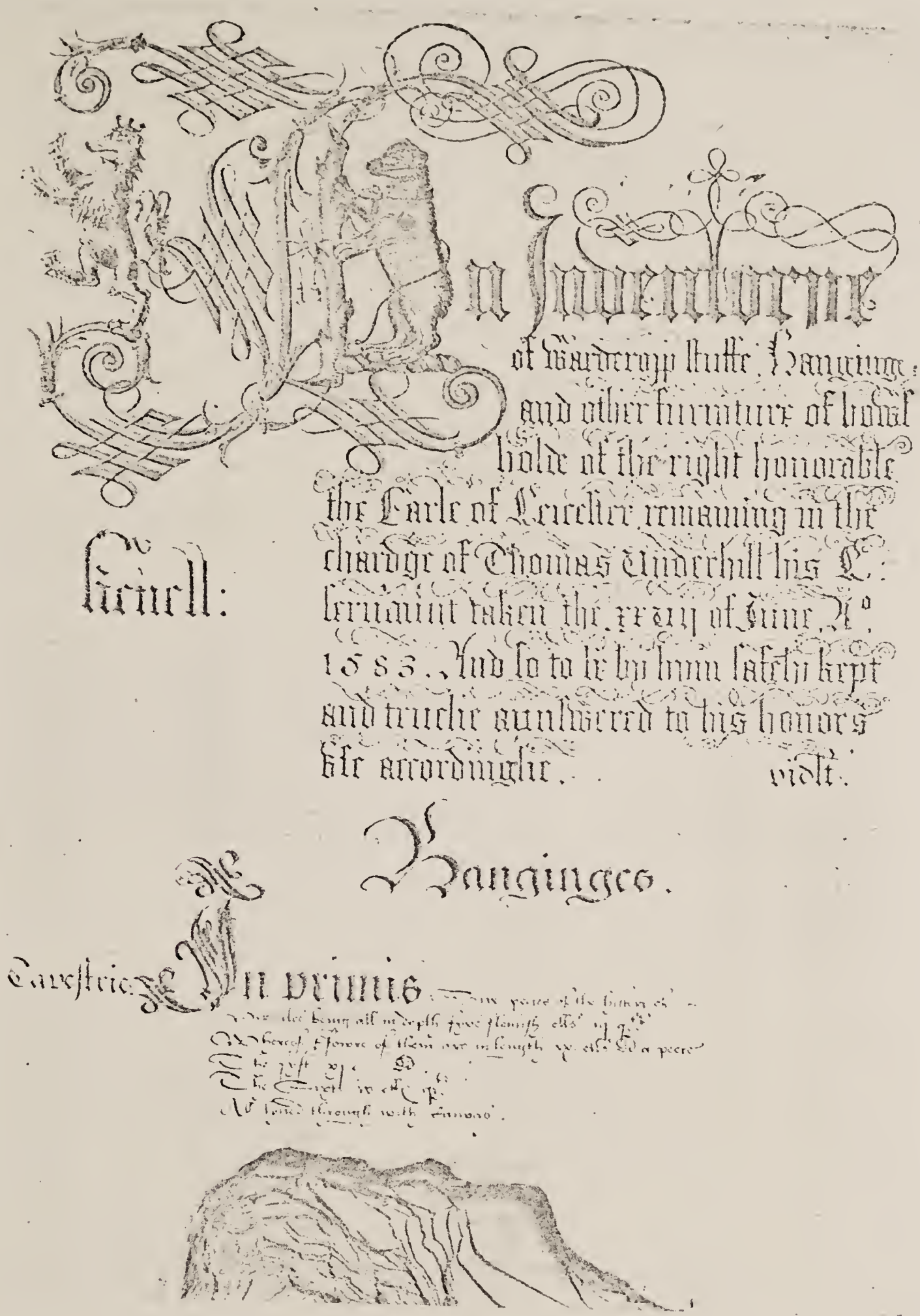
At this juncture the royal guest reached the temporary bridge which led to the inner ward of the castle, a structure some twenty feet in width and seventy feet in length. That was the climax of her picturesque welcome. At intervals of twelve feet the sides of the bridge were adorned with massive posts in pairs, and an expositor, clad like a poet "in a long azure-blue garment," explained in Latin verse the symbolism of those seven pairs of posts. On the tops of the first pair were large wire cages filled with live bitterns and curlews and other dainty birds, and these were the offerings of Sylvanus the god of fowls; the second posts bore on their summits large silver bowls filled with apples, pears, cherries, filberts, oranges, and lemons, and these were the gift of Pomona the goddess of fruit; on the third posts were other large silver bowls decorated with green and ripe ears of wheat, barley, oats, and beans, and these were the libation of Ceres the goddess of corn; on one of the fourth pair of posts a silvered bowl held luscious grapes in white and red clusters, while the companion pillar had by its side two silver pots of wine and two glasses filled to the brim with red and white

juice of the grape, and these were the oblation of Bacchus the god of wine; the fifth posts supported large trays in which, on a bed of fresh grass, were displayed all kinds of fish, and these were the offertory of Neptune god of the sea; the sixth posts were adorned with staves of silver, representing the rugged staff of Leicester's coat of arms, from which hung glittering pieces of armour and various weapons, and these were the gifts of Mars the god of war; to the seventh posts were affixed branches of bay, thickly arrayed with lutes, and viols, and cornets, and flutes, and harps, and these were the oblation of Phœbus the god of music "for rejoicing the mind." As she reached the end of the bridge, the much-welcomed monarch was saluted with a "delicate harmony" of music, to the accompaniment of which she dismounted and was conducted to her apartments. And as she reached her chamber there came so loud a peal of guns and such a blaze of fireworks that, as Laneham noted, it seemed as though Jupiter must have added his greetings to the salutations of the other gods.

Such was the overture of the "princely pleasures" devised for Elizabeth's entertainment during those July days of 1575. To follow the programme in all its details for the nineteen days of the Queen's visit would need a volume; to quote even a tithe of the flattering conceits in prose or verse that saluted the guest's ears wherever she moved, whether in the castle or its gardens or while following the hunt, would be tedious for those not accustomed to the fulsomeness of Elizabethan compliment. Save on the days when it was too hot for her to stir abroad until the cool of the late afternoon, or during the mornings of those two Sundays which were given up to "divine

service and preaching," Elizabeth had little opportunity to enjoy that "quiet thought" which the Sibyl had promised. If she went hunting, she was waylaid by a "Savage man" representing Sylvanus, the god of the woods, who, clad in moss and ivy, persisted in addressing her in a long oration, running after her horse at top speed when his victim made an effort to escape his tedious eloquence; if she but walked out to the bridge, a barge-load of singers making "delectable music" floated toward her; if she wandered to the further shore of the lake, a swimming mermaid implored the honour of taking her a voyage. All Killingworth, indeed, seemed to be infested with satyrs and heathen gods and goddesses, and no matter where Elizabeth turned there were surprises in store, Italian tumblers and dancers, bridal ceremonies, morris players, bear-baiting, tilts, prize-fights, and dazzling displays of fireworks. It is little wonder, then, that the nineteen days' high festival was computed to have cost Leicester nearly twenty thousand pounds, a sum which, in modern currency, would represent more than a million dollars!

But all that extravagant revelry was related to merely one aspect of the onerous responsibility which rested upon Thomas Underhill during those memorable nineteen days. The hunting expeditions, the dancing, the bear-baiting, the tournaments, the morris performances, the fireworks, were all external. There remained the far more important internal task of providing accommodation for those more than a hundred lords and ladies who were Leicester's guests; and that was a duty which, beyond aught else, demanded the close personal attention of the steward and wardrobe keeper of the castle. How



HEADING OF THE INVENTORY OF HANGINGS, ETC., BELONGING TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER, IN CHARGE OF THOMAS UNDERHILL IN 1583

he solved the bed-chamber accommodation problem is not recorded. Though the castle was a spacious building, and could boast of several halls for stately banquets, its private chamber accommodation could hardly have been equal to the abnormal demands of that unique occasion.

Certainly Thomas Underhill was not able to provide separate bedsteads for all Leicester's guests. Among the muniments of Penshurst Place, that historic and picturesque Kentish mansion which is so rich in memories of Sir Philip Sidney and other illustrious Elizabethans, is a manuscript volume[12] which while providing evidence of the large responsibilities the Queen's favourite entrusted to his chief retainer is also eloquent of that steward's intimate knowledge and meticulous care of the household treasures committed to his charge. That volume of some fifty folio pages is an elaborate inventory of the "Warderopp stuffe Hanginge and other furniture of howsholde" belonging to the Earl of Leicester, which was "in the chardge of Thomas Underhill, his Lordship's Servaunt, and so to be by him safely kep' and truelie aunsered." Many pages of that inventory are devoted to the "bedding" of the castle, and it appears that the bedsteads were thirty-five in number. Some were obviously of diminutive size, such as the "little slope feilde beddstede" and "an other little slope feilde beddstede"; but there were others of spacious dimensions and rich appointments, such as the "great square beddstede" and the "faire, riche, newe, standing square beddstede of walnuttre," which was decorated with crimson and silver roses, was hung with richly embroidered curtains of crimson velvet, and emblazoned with Leicester's arms. If,

[12] MSS. of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, I, 278-298.

however, his thirty-five bedsteads were inadequate for the needs of a hundred guests, Thomas Underhill was able to provide an adequate supply of bedding. For his stores included a hundred and thirty beds, nearly a hundred pillows, and pairs of sheets and blankets fully equal to the needs of the beds. As those nineteen days of the July of 1575 were notable for sunshine and warmth, it may be that many of the lords took their slumber *al fresco,* thus redressing the chamber and bedstead resources of the castle. Even so, the steward must have experienced immense relief when the last of those many guests had departed. It had been a graceful compliment to Elizabeth that on her arrival the castle bell was silenced and the hands of the clock fixed at the hour of two for the duration of her visit; but those who had a thought and a glance to spare had only to gaze upward at the south wall of Cæsar's Tower to learn that, despite the silent bell and the stationary hands of the clock, the slender shadow which glided steadily over the face of the enamelled sun-dial was ushering the "princely pleasures" to oblivion. And no one could have regarded that moving shadow with more relief than Thomas Underhill.

For that ancient inventory is conclusive evidence that under normal conditions his charge to "safely keep and truely answer" for the innumerable treasures of Killingworth was occupation enough.

Although he had three assistants, to whom he committed the oversight of the plate and pewter, the napery, and the munitions of the castle, he reserved for his own personal care by far the bulk of Leicester's most valuable possessions. They were of bewildering variety and quantity, and included tapestries and other hangings, bedsteads

and their appurtenances, chairs and footstools, cushions and carpets, portraits and pictures, musical instruments, cabinets and chests, tables and settles, sweet-bags and night-caps, chessboards and mirrors, andirons and bellows, and a multitude of other household necessaries. The custody and preservation of Leicester's notable collection of tapestries and verdures was no light task. There were no fewer than thirty-four sets of those hangings, representing more than two hundred pieces. And they were all of considerable dimensions, for while many were eighteen feet in depth there were not a few which considerably exceeded that measurement, an indication of the extreme loftiness of the apartments in which they were displayed. It may be doubted, indeed, whether in any of the royal palaces of the period there was a more notable or valuable collection of tapestries than that for which Thomas Underhill was responsible. The subjects were thoroughly representative of the themes utilized for such mural decorations, for if Biblical scenes were in the majority, there were not lacking episodes of history and classical legend, designs of allegory and pictures of the chase, and numerous examples of those floral compositions which imparted such a richly decorative quality to the domestic interiors of the sixteenth century. The cost of those thirty-four sets must have been enormous, for when, after Leicester's death, a rough valuation was made of two-thirds of the number,[13] the appraisement amounted to a sum which, in modern value, would be equal to seventy thousand dollars.

By far the greater number of the thirty-five bedsteads which he "safely kept" and was ready to "truely answer" for were equipped with so many appurtenances as to

[13] British Museum: Lansd. MS. 57, f. 55.

entail constant and careful supervision. Thus, of one, made of walnut, he noted that it was "topp fashion," had red varnished pillars, a crimson satin valance with herring-bone border of gold and silver, bore his Lord's arms richly embroidered on the tester in a garland of hops and roses and pomegranates, was equipped with five curtains of crimson satin, had a crimson satin quilted counterpane, and, among other adornments, was surmounted by "five plumes of coloured fethers" garnished with lace and spangles of silver and gold.

But tapestries and bedsteads were merely two of the classifications of Leicester's household possessions; the other headings in the old inventory are as numerous and varied and detailed as a voluminous auctioneer's catalogue. The chairs and square-stools and footstools, the "stools of neddlework," and the cushions and "stools of cloth," many with mottoes and embroidered initials, occupy considerable space; and the "carpets of velvett" and the "great Turkey carpetts" and "window pieces" and other curtains make a brave array. One page seems melodious with the gentle music of Shakespeare's day with its details of organs and regals and virginals and violas and lutes; another, with its descriptions of sweet-bags of green satin or blue taffeta, is fragrant of those herbs and dried lavender and pot-pourri which were the wholesome perfumes of bygone days; and the brief entry of "two greene anglinge roddes with one lyne and hooke" would appear to indicate that my Lord of Leicester was not indifferent to "the contemplative man's recreation." His lordship's library, however, was one of the least of Thomas Underhill's cares; as it consisted only of a Bible and three Psalters, his own New Testament, Bible, and

"all the rest of the books" he had inherited from his Greenwich godfather, were more representative of Elizabethan literature.

If Leicester's patronage of the printed word was too insignificant to augment his steward's duties, his partiality for the painted portrait enhanced those duties. According to the inventory of 1583, there were some forty-five paintings in Thomas Underhill's charge, of which forty were portraits, all of contemporary celebrities. Chief among these were two "great tables of the Quenes Majesty's pictures" with an interchangeable silk curtain, and these had as their complement "two greate Pictures of my Lord in whole proportion, thone in Armour, tother in a sute of russett satten and velvett welted." The royal portraits included Mary Queen of Scots, the Emperor Charles, King Philip of Spain, Elizabeth's predecessor and sister Mary, and the Prince of Orange. Many of the famous nobles of the Continent and of the illustrious peers of Elizabeth's Court were in that gallery, while the fair and frail beauties of the past and present were represented by two studies of Poppæa Sabina and portraits of Elizabeth Knollys and her sister, Lettice, the Countess of Essex. And, as if to impart a savor of piety to the collection, Leicester also included lineaments of such stout Puritans as Edwin Sandys and Sir Walter Mildmay, that founder of Emmanuel College at Cambridge which trained so many divines for the New England theocracy.

Among the rarer individual pieces in Thomas Underhill's charge were many articles which, had they survived, would realize fabulous sums in the sale-room. Such, for example, were the "foure faire Venetian chests," the cabinet of crimson satin lavishly adorned with silver

and gold floral designs, the salt of mother of pearl modelled in the form of a ship in full sail, the brazen chandelier of twenty-four lights, and the chessboard of ebony with its chequers of crystal and other stones inlaid with silver and engraved with Leicester's arms. In truth, the inventory, with its astonishing wealth of detail and variety, gives an extraordinary impression of the riches and luxury of Elizabeth's favourite, and is singularly suggestive of the efficiency and trustworthiness of the man by whom his possessions were "safely kept."

And scattered through the inventory are notes and comments which are eloquent of the intimate cognizance and thoroughness of Thomas Underhill's stewardship. As to the tapestries, he remembered which had "come from Grafton in 1579," which had been "bought of the Lady Lennox," and which set had one piece that was "cut in sunder in the middest"; of the bedsteads he could recall that from one "three loopes and ij buttons" were missing, while the counterpoint of another was "stolen in August 1581"; of three bed-ticks he knew that two were "new, the other not serviceable"; instances of unconscious or intentional kleptomania by guests seem suggested by his recollections that a certain pillowcase was "lost out of my Lord Wyndsor's chamber" and that one damask and two plain napkins were "lost when Mr. Gilbert Talbott was at Killingworth"; he knew, too, which embroidered chairs were "mothe eaten," which curtains were not "serviceable," how many of the looking-glasses were defective, and how of five table-frames one had been "broken by Jacob" and one "course towell" had been "lost by Morris." All that precise knowledge was ample justification of Thomas Underhill's demand to be relieved of respon-

sibility for articles which were "lost at my Lord's last being at Killingworth," and warranted him in declaring that he "denieth to be charged" with various articles which had never been seen at the castle. It is not surprising that Leicester appears to have entrusted him with the general oversight of his possessions at his mansion at Grafton, and perhaps also of the most valuable of the plenishings of his other houses at Langley and London. Altogether, Thomas Underhill must have been fully occupied.

But there were compensations. In all England there was no more lovely countryside than that in which his home was situated; as the most confidential retainer of the Queen's favourite, he held an enviable position; that Leicester greatly valued and appreciated his services is beyond question; and from time to time he was brought into close relations with most of the illustrious men and women of the "spacious days" of the most picturesque period of English history. Among the women who visited Killingworth, too, there appears to have been one who regarded him with special favour, and by whom, maybe, he was greatly fascinated. Preserved with those muniments at Penshurst which include the inventory cited above is another manuscript which reveals something of the life of Killingworth in those far-off days. This is an account of the deer killed there between 1568 and 1578,[14] which was probably written by Henry Besbidge, the "Ranger General of the Game at Killingworth," with whom Thomas Underhill was intimately acquainted. That record gives many particulars of numerous stag-hunts, and among the names of those who

[14] MSS. of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley: Miscellaneous Papers 1091.

participated therein that of the Countess of Essex frequently recurs after 1576; and one entry of the following year sets forth that among the does killed in the chase was one which fell to Thomas Underhill and a friend, and four to "my La of Essex," suggesting that on that hunt the Countess selected Leicester's steward as one of her companions.

As two of Leicester's amorous intrigues had certain reactions for the Underhill household, it is necessary to recall the salient facts of those gallantries. When Thomas Underhill took up his duties at Killingworth, Leicester was a widower, for the ill-fated Amy Robsart had been dead some ten years. In the May of 1573, however, Court gossip connected his name with two of the Queen's cousins, Douglas and Frances Howard, the first being the young widow of Lord Sheffield. Soon afterwards, Leicester entered upon a relationship with the Lady Douglas Sheffield which has been cautiously characterized as an "ambiguous connection." The lady herself always maintained that a form of marriage had been observed, and many years later Charles I issued a patent declaring that the offspring of that connection—Sir Robert Dudley—was of "lawful birth." When that son made a gallant effort to establish his legitimacy, Lady Douglas Sheffield testified that the Earl of Leicester "was ayeare or thereaboutes in withdrawing his Love from her, as shee remembreth her last talke with him was in a close arbor in Greenwich garden," and also that the Earl offered her "seaven hundred poundes by the yeare duringe her lief to disclayme" the marriage.[15] A few years, however, after

[15] MSS. of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley. Sir Robert Dudley's claim to be Earl of Leicester: his case in the Star Chamber, III, f. 12.

Leicester had "withdrawn his Love" and succumbed to another infatuation, she contracted a marriage with Sir Edward Stafford, so lightly, apparently, were marital bonds regarded in Elizabethan days.

While there is no evidence that the Lady Douglas Sheffield ever visited Killingworth, the lady who supplanted her in Leicester's wandering affections was, as has been noted above, a frequent guest at the castle subsequent to 1576. This was another cousin of the Queen, Lettice Knollys, a daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, who had married Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, about 1562. She was one of the notable beauties of Elizabeth's Court; her face, her epitaph declared, was "once the fairest in the land"; and she appears to have been as fickle as she was fascinating. The verdict of Froude that she was a "false wife" would seem to be justified by the fact that she did not accompany the Earl of Essex on his expedition to Ireland, and also by the further fact that when he, a day or two before his death, pleaded with Elizabeth to be "as a mother" to his "poor children,"[16] he made no reference to his wife. Elizabeth herself had a scornful opinion of her cousin. Lettice, she declared, was a "she-wolf" and a "bad woman"; and her husband was "a cuckold."[17] Leicester, however, was so infatuated by her charms that when her cautious father refused to acknowledge a secret marriage at Killingworth he agreed to a more formal ceremony being performed in the presence of several distinguished witnesses. That ceremony took place in the fall of 1578, and it is significant of the fascination the new Countess exercised on Thomas Underhill that when,

[16] MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury, II, 142.
[17] Calendar of Letters Relating to English Affairs at Simancas, III, 477.

some months later, his family was increased by a girl, he named her Lettice. His son John also named a daughter Lettice.

Leicester was so completely enslaved by his inamorata that for her, and undoubtedly at her instigation, he hazarded his career at a crucial time and incurred the wrath of Elizabeth. Thomas Underhill was a passive participant in that crisis, and it was the occasion of his visiting those Low Countries with which his son and grandson were to become familiar.

Although in Elizabethan days there was no postal service comparable to that of modern times, there were many opportunities for communication between the households at Killingworth and Greenwich. Messengers would be frequently passing to and fro between the royal palace and the favourite's castle, thereby enabling Hugh Underhill to acquaint his son with the most important Court news. And in the July of 1585 the keeper of the wardrobe at Greenwich had an interesting incident to report. This was the arrival from the Netherlands of a dozen delegates to whom had been entrusted the weighty mission of urging Elizabeth to espouse the cause of the Low Countries in their dauntless struggle against the ruthless tyranny of Spain. As the chief custodian of the Queen's tapestries, Hugh Underhill had a personal interest in the reception of that deputation, for it fell to him to adorn with rich hangings the presence-chamber in which the stately ceremony took place; and he would undoubtedly learn something of what passed at that and subsequent interviews. The result is written in history: how, after great persuasion, Elizabeth consented to help the United Netherlands with money and men; and how she eventually

decided that the commander of the army and her special representative should be none other than her favourite, the Earl of Leicester.

From the arrival of the deputation, Leicester used all his influence to be placed in charge of any expedition Elizabeth might decide to send. Such an ambition was natural. He was the most conspicuous nobleman at the court; yet he held no office of state. Burghley was Lord High Treasurer; Walsingham was Secretary of State; Bromley was Lord Chancellor; Howard was Lord High Admiral; but Leicester was—just the Queen's favourite. His lack of office galled that passion for power and magnificence which was shared to the full by his wife. And the Countess Lettice was as envious of Elizabeth's regal state as the Queen was of her cousin's beauty.

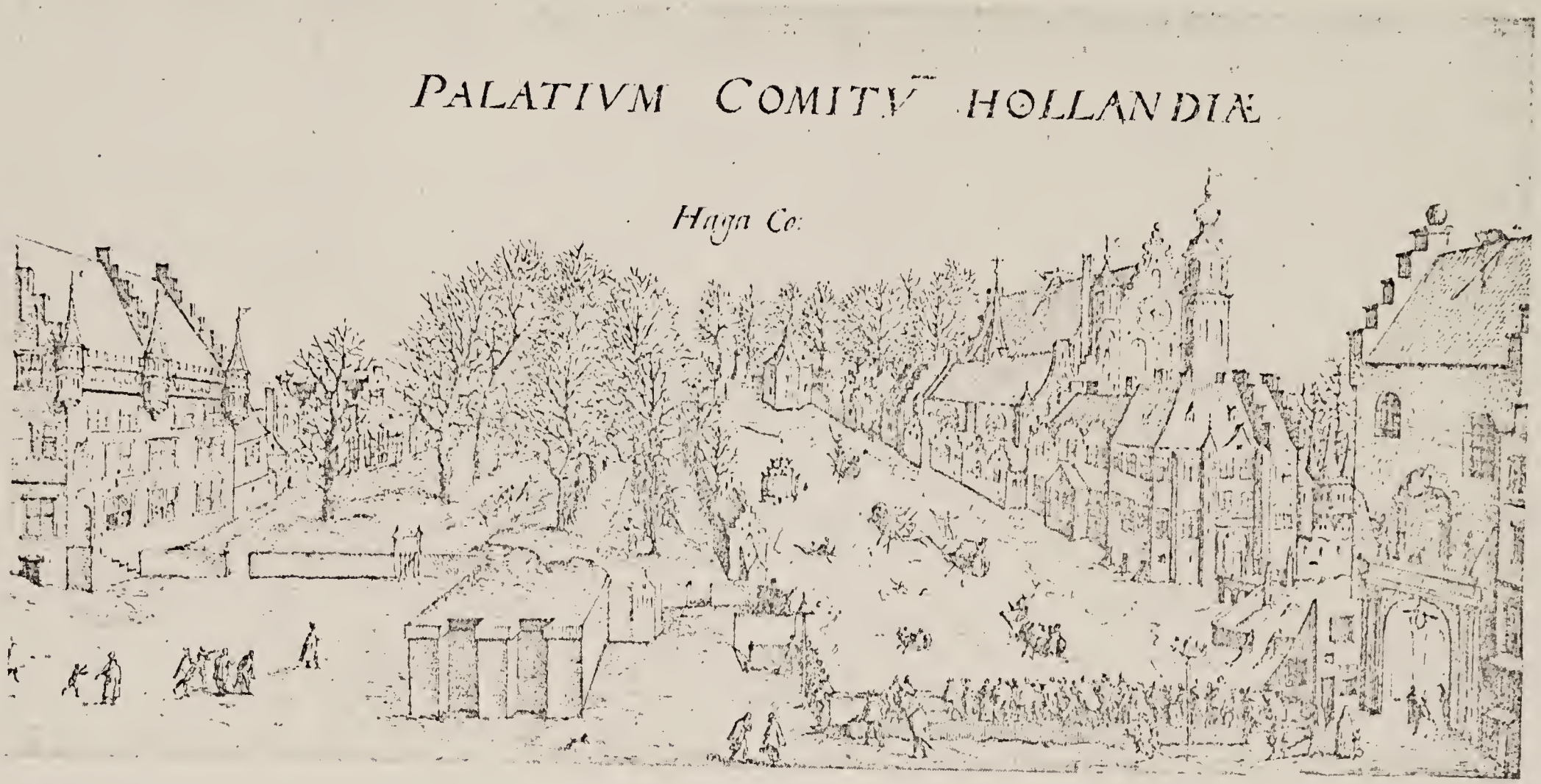
Now, to the Earl and Countess alike the projected intervention in the Netherlands offered an opportunity for aggrandisement such as would be impossible at home. The States had tendered Elizabeth the sovereignty of their lands and people; they were willing to become a Protectorate of England: what semi-regal state might they not confer on the man who commanded the English army and was the Queen's direct representative?

When Leicester's appointment had been decided, the Countess Lettice at once left Killingworth to join her husband in London. That precipitation nearly ruined all. "There is great offence taken," Walsingham reported, "in the conveying down of his lady." Elizabeth had been informed of her cousin's hurried arrival in London; promptly, in jealousy and suspicion, she ordered Leicester to suspend all preparations for his departure; and she was not mollified nor persuaded to cancel her countermand

until her favourite had, by some unrecorded arguments and appeals, evoked a more friendly mood.

Leicester's preparations were on an elaborate scale. He dispatched more than two hundred urgent letters to retainers and friends inviting them to get ready to join him for service in the Low Countries; he expended "a good piece of money" on arms and accoutrements; he made a special requisition on some six hundred of his own tenants; and he set in hand "sondry furnytures" for his own use. Chief among the retainers whom he selected to accompany him was his faithful and efficient steward, Thomas Underhill. He would be urgently needed in the Low Countries. No one was more familiar with the "household stuff" that would be required for the proper state of the Earl and Countess in their new position; no one was better able to advise what should be transferred from Killingworth to the Netherlands.

Such was Leicester's reception in the Low Countries that he must have been convinced his elevation to almost kingly state could not be long delayed. His own private memorandum as to the position he expected to occupy contained a significant phrase to the effect that he should require to "have as much authority as the Prince of Orange," with ample allowance for the upkeep of that dignity. In the early days of his arrival, the omens were so propitious that he dispatched Thomas Underhill to England with a glowing letter to Walsingham. The people were confident and in high spirit. They were ready to "beatt all the Spanyards out of their countrey"; never had he seen people in such "jollyte"; he was met at landing and wherever he went with great companies of armed soldiers, "a mervellous fayre sight"; and everywhere there



THE HAGUE, HOLLAND, IN THE WINTER OF 1585, SHOWING THE PROBABLE ENTRANCE OF THE EARL OF LEICESTER

From a rare old print

were loud cries of "God save Queen Elizabeth." So confident, indeed, was Leicester that his greatness was ripening that he besought Walsingham to send him a pursivant "with spede," as he had "great nede" of such a court official.

What letters to the Countess Lettice were brought by Thomas Underhill, and what instructions Leicester gave him, will probably never be known. He had sailed with Leicester on the 8th of December, 1585, but he had reached England again ere the year closed, for at the end of the month Walsingham duly advised the Earl that he had received his letter by his "servante Underhill."[18] Doubtless Thomas Underhill had many conferences with the Countess Lettice as to what "household stuff" was to be taken to the Netherlands, and he had good reason to anticipate that he would soon rejoin the Earl there. Early in the new year, too, Leicester realized his greatest ambition. In brief, he was officially requested to become "absolute governour, both of warre and peace, over all their provinces"; and, after assuming reluctance for a few days, he formally accepted the offer. And early in the February of 1586 he was duly installed as Governor-General. Here was news indeed for his ambitious Countess! And at that juncture Thomas Underhill may well have been busy with his preparations to transport many of Leicester's household treasures from Killingworth to The Hague.

But it was not to be.

Elizabeth's blazing anger with Leicester for accepting the rulership of the Netherlands is usually explained by the excuse she made at the time. Her honour, she asserted, had been "greatly touched" because his action

[18] *Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester,* ed. John Bruce, 34.

was contrary to her declaration as to the reasons why she had intervened in the affairs of the Low Countries. But there was another, and truer explanation—truer because womanly. Elizabeth was furious with Leicester because she detested his wife. For the Countess Lettice, forgetful of the "great offence" she had occasioned by her hurried visit to London in the fall of the previous year, or perhaps confident that once Leicester was installed as Governor-General of the Netherlands he and she could ignore Elizabeth's opposition, was undoubtedly preparing to join her husband at The Hague. While Leicester himself was either indifferent to the effect on the Queen of such an arrangement, or confident of his ability to placate his royal mistress, one member of his entourage, his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, was a shrewder judge of the danger involved. Sidney, indeed, expressed a fervent wish that "some way might be taken to stay my lady in England."[19] Leicester's enemies at court were naturally assiduous in reporting Lettice's preparations to Elizabeth. "It was put into her Majesty's head," reported one confidential correspondent, "that your lordship had sent for her," and that many "other things" had been "cast in by such as neither affect your lordship nor the cause."

Then the storm burst. "It was told her Majesty," wrote one of Leicester's kinsmen, "that my lady was prepared presently to come over to your Excellency, with such a train of ladies and gentlewomen, and such rich coaches, litters, and side-saddles as her Majesty had none such, and that there should be such a court of ladies as should far surpass her Majesty's court here. This information did not a little stir her Majesty to extreme choler and dis-

[19] British Museum: Harl. MS. 287, f. 1.

like of your doings there, saying, with great oaths, she would have no more courts under her obeisance but her own, and would revoke you from thence with all speed."[20]

That royal jealousy and wrath ended the Countess Lettice's dreams of semi-regal state. And it effectually terminated all Thomas Underhill's preparations. For although Leicester was able to mollify Elizabeth's anger and retain his position, he never made any further attempt to summon his wife to share his dignity; nor were any rich coaches, or litters, or any of the household treasures of Killingworth, ever transported to The Hague.

For two and a half years subsequent to that contretemps, the old records are silent as to the activities of Thomas Underhill. Despite the fact of her reconciliation to Leicester, Elizabeth did not visit Killingworth again. Never would she honour the Countess Lettice by recognizing her as hostess. So Leicester's steward was spared any repetition of the arduous labours and responsibilities of the "princely pleasures" of 1575.

When, however, owing to the distinction the Queen conferred upon her favourite by giving him the chief command of all the lands forces mobilized to resist the invasion threatened by the Spanish Armada in the summer of 1588, Thomas Underhill may reasonably have anticipated that he could count upon many years of happy and profitable occupation as Leicester's most trusted retainer, an untoward event suddenly effected an irreparable catastrophe.

Early in August it became known beyond any doubt that the "invincible Armada" had been ignominiously defeated; and Elizabeth paid a triumphant visit to the camp

[20] *Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester,* ed. John Bruce, 122. 144.

at Tilbury where Leicester held command. In her biased opinion, her favourite had been the chief instrument in destroying the power of Spain; and in that heightened hour she proposed to create him Lord Lieutenant of England, a position in which he would have been supreme over all the high officers of State, and possessed authority almost commensurate with that of his Queen. Leicester, then, had good reason to believe his star had reached its meridian; and when, shortly after Elizabeth's visit, he disbanded the army, and set out for Killingworth, it must have been in a mood of high content. How unusual, too, must have been the preparations which Thomas Underhill planned for the welcome home of his lord under such auspicious conditions.

But on his homeward journey Leicester contracted a mysterious disease. He reached his house at Cornbury; and there, within some twenty miles of his favourite Killingworth, on the 4th of September, 1588, he died.

In those days, sudden death begat suspicion. Leicester himself had been infamed by the violent end of Amy Robsart; he was suspected of having attempted to poison the Lady Douglas Sheffield; and many were convinced that he had devised the untimely death of the first husband of the Countess Lettice. Hence it was not unnatural that contemporary scandal and later legend attributed his own sudden death to "that poison which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare Artist."

A dark story is insinuated in that cryptic verdict. The two persons concerned were the Countess Lettice and that sinister Sir Christopher Blount who was well known to Thomas Underhill. More than thirty years younger than Leicester, Blount was of prepossessing appearance and

ingratiating manners. Although a Catholic, and consequently an adherent of Mary Queen of Scots, he took service in Leicester's household, and appears to have early attracted the regard of the fickle Lettice, with whom his good looks and twenty years juniority were seductive assets. When with Leicester in the Netherlands as captain of his horse he was in correspondence with Mary Stuart's confidential agents.[21] Even from his cell in the Bastille, the ingenious Thomas Morgan contrived to communicate with Blount, and to receive from him a message in which he avowed his devotion to the Scottish Queen and declared she was the "only saint" he knew living on earth.[22] Another agent of Mary assured his mistress that Blount was industrious to "gain others to serve her"; and in the July of 1586 Blount actually conveyed a letter to Mary from Morgan, who urged her to supply him with a secret cipher and thank him for his "good affection."[23] As all this eventually became known to the astute Walsingham, and through him to Leicester, and as he must have learnt that Elizabeth regarded him as a "cuckold," there is presumptive evidence in favour of the legend that he attempted the assassination of Blount, and that in the end the Earl was poisoned by Lettice and her supposed paramour.

Certainly the Countess Lettice was indecently if not suspiciously hasty in her proceedings after Leicester's death. Within forty-eight hours she had applied for authority to administer his estate! In so doing, she acted within the rights conferred upon her by Leicester's will;

[21] Motley is one of the few historians who had a clear appreciation of the underground plots of the time. *Cf. History of the United Netherlands,* I, 373-374.
[22] MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury, III, 101.
[23] *Ibid.,* 135, 151.

but it had been more seemly had she at least waited until the Earl was buried. The will itself, written by Leicester's own pen, had been drafted in the Netherlands, when the writer was still under the spell of Lettice's charms; and death came too swiftly for the addition of any qualifying codicils. Though a lengthy document, its salient conditions were few and explicit. After due provision of a dower estate for his widow, Leicester devised his Killingworth manor to his brother Ambrose, Earl of Warwick; after whose death that property was to be enjoyed by Robert Dudley, that offspring of his relations with the Lady Douglas Sheffield whom he characterized as "my base son." And with regard to Killingworth, he made one definite proviso. "I doe will and giue," he wrote, "all suche stuff and implements of howseholde as I haue heretofore stored the said Castell with all to remain to the saide Castell and howse and *not to be altered or removed.*"

But the Countess Lettice utterly disregarded that proviso. As soon as she had procured authority to administer Leicester's estate, she proceeded to execute her own plans in defiance of his will. The evidence of that callous conduct is on record in a detailed deposition made two years later by Thomas Underhill. He was the principal deponent before a commission authorized to take evidence at Warwick on the 16th of September, 1590, in connection with legal disputes as to the Killingworth estate, and the record states that, in reply to certain questions, Thomas Underhill "saieth That the Countesse of Leicester after the deathe of the saide Earle of Leicester and before anye appricem^t made of the goodes and chatells of the saide Earle, dyd cause dyuerse goodes to be fetched forthe of the Cassle of Killingworth which were caryed some to

London and some to Langley, for the particulers of which goodes soe fetched awaye this deponent referreth himself to a Note in Writinge which he this depon^t hathe in his Custodye and wilbe readie to showe forthe att anie tyme when he shalbe therevnto required." [24] Another important witness was Thomas Underhill's friend and colleague, Henry Besbeche, Leicester's "Ranger General," who testified that after the Earl's funeral, and before the valuation, a cartload of stuff was taken from the wardrobe to Langley, and a chest of linen and all the plate of Killingworth was taken to London by Richard Browne, one of the Countess's servants. Besbeche also asserted that the Countess had "a great sorte of Jewells of the said Earle." [25]

There is no mistaking the significance of that dual testimony. As the Countess Lettice knew she could not establish any legal claim to Killingworth, she promptly, before any inventory or valuation could be made, and in defiance of Leicester's stipulation that the contents of the castle were not to be "altered or removed," loaded her carts with what she fancied and dispatched them with all speed to her houses in Langley and London.[26] It is clear from the tenor of his evidence that Thomas Underhill was greatly perturbed by those irregular proceedings. He was powerless to prevent them, but, in consonance with his scrupulous care of Leicester's treasures, he did take due record of what had been abstracted. When, too, late in October, the inventory of the castle was checked, his

[24] Public Record Office: Chancery Depositions (Country) C 21, D 5/2.
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] Blount and the Countess Lettice were adepts in keeping close custody of their valuables. When the former became involved in the Essex rebellion, he took care to secure his wife's "best jewels" and place them in hiding, much to the annoyance of Bishop Bancroft, who was anxious to secure them for Queen Elizabeth. *Cf.* MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury, XI, 80.

name was subscribed thereto, though there is no evidence that he had any share in the valuation which was made in the following month.

From the evidence of Thomas Underhill and Henry Besbeche[27] it is beyond question that as the Countess Lettice scorned the provision of Leicester's will as to the contents of the castle, so she made a determined effort to set aside that more important condition which constituted the Earl of Warwick heir to the manor as a whole. For several months she seems to have pursued the policy of claiming the manor as Leicester's widow, and as Underhill and Besbeche were doubtless unacquainted with the details of the will they appear to have exercised their authority as derived from her, in ignorance that they had a new lord in the person of Warwick. While she was carrying on her crafty negotiations with Warwick in London, she wrote several guarded letters to Underhill and Besbeche. To Underhill she explained that Warwick had "grown to a point" for Killingworth, and that she had made his and Besbeche's "peace" with the Earl, whom she exhorted them to serve as faithfully as their late lord; but from another source he learnt that the Countess had persuaded Warwick to offer her £5000 for his own property! The letter to Besbeche avoided any reference to the £5000 bargain, and merely intimated that the Countess had agreed to surrender Killingworth. Whether Warwick was actually mulcted in that £5000 is not recorded; but Thomas Underhill definitely admitted that he delivered the keys of the castle to one of Warwick's servants.

In one matter, the Countess Lettice did tell the truth. She was instrumental in making Underhill's and Bes-

[27] Public Record Office: Chancery Depositions (Country) C 21, D 5/2.

beche's "peace" with her brother-in-law, for Besbeche narrated that after the surrender of the castle he and Underhill went to London to take service with the Earl of Warwick, and that, on all arrangements being completed, they returned to Killingworth to resume the duties they had discharged for Leicester.

Although the exact date is not on record, all collateral evidence indicates that early in 1589, within six months of Leicester's death, the Countess Lettice became the wife of Sir Christopher Blount. That union appears to have enlightened Thomas Underhill as to the character of his former mistress, for in his deposition he stoutly denied that he had ever been "suyter to the said Sr Christofer Blount and the Countesse for anie landes in Killingworth sythence their maryadge."

He must have deemed himself fortunate that so soon after the death of Leicester he found his occupation renewed and his household re-established. He was, naturally, well acquainted with his new master, for Ambrose Dudley, Leicester's favourite brother, was a frequent visitor at Killingworth. His character, too, was more steadfast, and his Puritanism less a cloak of expediency than that of the former owner of the castle. For every reason, then, Thomas Underhill might reasonably have anticipated many years of happy activity with his new lord.

But in less than a year Warwick was dead. At the siege of Havre in 1563 his leg had been pierced by a poisoned bullet, and early in 1590 the old wound became so dangerous that amputation was advised. The operation was either too late or too unskilfully performed: he died in London on the 20th of February.

Thus for a second time in less than eighteen months

Thomas Underhill's occupation was in jeopardy. It enhanced the anxieties of the situation, too, that the next heir to Killingworth, namely, that Robert Dudley who was the "base born" son of Leicester by the Lady Douglas Sheffield, was a minor; and it was probable that as the Countess Lettice had done her utmost to hinder the succession of the Earl of Warwick, she and Blount would employ every device to thwart the possession of the castle and manor by a mere youth. There was, however, one factor which must have relieved Thomas Underhill's anxiety. His father at Greenwich, keenly interested in the welfare of his first-born and his family, had used his influence to insure that, if he lost his post at Killingworth, he should be certain of occupation elsewhere. Hence, five days after the death of the Earl of Warwick, the great seal of England was impressed on a document which is at once evidence of Queen Elizabeth's high regard of Hugh Underhill and of his affection for his first-born.[28] For that document set forth that, in consideration of Hugh Underhill's "true and faithful seruice," and in view of his "humble suite" and for "certyne other good causes and consideracons," there was granted unto Thomas Underhill, "Sonne to the saide hughe Vnderhill," the reversion of the office of wardrobe keeper at the royal manor of Greenwich whenever that office should be void by the "deathe, surender, forfeyture or dimyssion of the saide hughe Vnderhill, or by any other wayes or meanes whatsoever." It seems clear from the precise wording of that warrant that, as a last resort, Hugh Underhill had decided to resign his office if his son's necessities should

[28] Public Record Office: Roll of Letters Patent of 32 Elizabeth, Part 17; C 66, 1353.

become urgent. That that son had rendered many years' faithful service to the Queen's favourite was doubtless implicit in the "certyne good causes" of the warrant.

Owing to the machinations of the Countess Lettice and Sir Christopher Blount, Killingworth was soon the scene of lawless proceedings. Counting, as might have been anticipated, upon the youth of Robert Dudley, and also doubtless upon her influence as the widow of Elizabeth's favourite, the Countess and her husband made a determined effort to get possession of the castle. Indeed, acting on their commands, a band of their servants actually made a forcible entry of the building despite the opposition of Thomas Underhill and his colleagues. Complaint of those "disorderly proceedings" having been made to the Privy Council, the Lord Chancellor (Sir Christopher Hatton) and the Lord Admiral (Lord Howard of Effingham), the guardians of Robert Dudley, addressed a stern admonition to Sir Fulke Greville and other Justices of the Peace as to the action they were to take. It appears that those Justices had already ordered the agents of the Countess and her husband to depart from the castle, but that their command had been disregarded. Hence the peremptory nature of the Privy Council's instructions, which, to insure Robert Dudley's "sole and quiet possession" of his property, called upon the Justices to eject the interlopers and to instantly and ruthlessly repress "any like forcible or disorderly attempts" that should be made.[29] On the arrival of that command, prompt and resolute action was taken against the minions of the Countess, and in a few days the Justices were able to report that the lawbreakers had been seized and com-

[29] Public Record Office: Privy Council Reg. Elizabeth, Vol. VIII.

mitted to prison. "Following upon the death of Ambrose Earl of Warwick in 1590, the Kenilworth estates had passed temporarily under the control of the Exchequer, in accordance with the law of the time, as Robert Dudley, the next heir, was still a minor. Sir Fulke Grevill was appointed Sequestrator, to receive the rents for the Crown, and he continued to act in that capacity until 1596." Thus for Thomas Underhill all those commotions of the spring of 1590 had one compensation: he became acquainted with Sir Fulke Greville in an intimate manner. And it lends unique interest to his association with that illustrious Elizabethan to remember that, forty-eight years later, his grandson Captain John Underhill was to enter upon important negotiations in Greville's London mansion.[30]

One sequel of the lawless proceedings of the spring of 1590 is partly the theme of an official record of the August of that year. By the authority of the Commission of the Exchequer, an inquisition was taken at Warwick on the eighth of that month before, among others, Sir Thomas Leigh of Stoneleigh, one object of which was to establish the legal rights in certain rents and pasturage claimed by Thomas Underhill and his wife Magdalen.[31] No fewer than fifteen jurors, two of whom belonged to Killingworth, asserted on oath that, among other matters, the late Earl of Leicester had granted to Thomas Underhill for life a yearly rent of ten pounds from his manor, and that Magdalen Underhill had also been granted for life pasturage for eight cows. Thus the result of the Commission was to firmly establish the legal rights of Leicester's steward and his wife. Incidentally, the inqui-

[30] *Infra*, p. 244.
[31] Public Record Office: Special Commission of the Exchequer: E 178, 2350.

sition revealed the illuminating fact that the "lady Lettice" had appropriated a half-year's rents of the manor, to not a penny of which had she any legal claim!

Then, a little more than a month later, came that enquiry at Warwick to which reference has been made above. Apart from the interesting nature of Thomas Underhill's depositions, the record is of notable value for its evidence of his connection with an armigerous family, for in two places he is characterized as "gent." When his replies to certain questions are considered in the light of the forced entry of the castle in the spring of 1590, they assume an illuminating significance. Thus his testimony that divers locks had been wrenched off the doors of the castle, and the evidence that the muniment room had been broken into and many writings abstracted, bear witness to the thoroughness with which the agents of the Countess and her husband had executed their raid. If, however, the stolen documents included those recording Leicester's grants to Thomas and Magdalen Underhill, the sworn testimony of the jurors completely nullified the theft.

But for Thomas Underhill himself the vindication of his legal rights was to be of fleeting advantage. Though in the prime of manhood—at the enquiry of the 16th of September, 1590, his age was stated to be "of xlv yeres or thereaboutes"—he had not many months to live. For on the 7th of June, 1591, commission was granted to Magdalen Underhill to administer the estate of her husband, Thomas Underhill "resident of Killingworth, in the county of Warwick, deceased."[32] If he made a will, it has vanished; most probably, like his lord, his illness was sudden and his death swift.

[32] Somerset House: P.C.C. Administrations, 1591, f. 178.

He was at least spared the poignant reflections of another of Leicester's retainers, with whom he must have been intimately acquainted, namely, that epigrammatic William Poyntz who testified to his faithfulness by asserting that "since I lost him, I have not found myself willing to wear any Lord's mark on my sleeve." So long as Leicester was alive, Poyntz mused, his friends said they loved him; "but he being lodged in Warwick without a tomb, my fortune they think is buried with him."[33] That moral was penned fourteen years after Leicester's death. Thomas Underhill was fortunate in that he died while his services to Queen Elizabeth's favourite insured him more grateful recognition.

[33] MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury, XII, 402-403.

CHAPTER III

RELATIONS AND PARENTS

MAGDALEN UNDERHILL survived her husband some six and a half years. In the early months of that period she makes a transient appearance in the old records, for in the report of a commission appointed to survey the manor of Killingworth in the October of 1591 two entries were made to the effect that in the one case Magdalen and her son Thomas and in the other Magdalen and her son John held the copyhold of certain premises and lands in the town; but subsequent to that date it is left to the imagination to fill out her life-story as the careful mother of the seven fatherless children. When Thomas Underhill died, the ages of those seven varied between about nineteen and two or three years. Two of those children, the eldest and the youngest, are little more than names. The first-born, Thomas, appears to have pre-deceased his mother, for at her death the headship of the family reverted to the second-born, John; the last-born, Clement, is so nebulous that the sex is uncertain.

Of the remaining five members of the Killingworth household, John, George, Lettice, Mary and Hugh—the father and uncles and aunts of Captain John Underhill—many interesting particulars have been preserved in ancient records.

In the cases of George and Hugh, those records are of

a nature to indicate Magdalen Underhill's anxiety to see her sons provided with a suitable occupation. Obviously, the family means were too limited to allow them to remain idle; and, owing to the changes in the ownership of Killingworth manor, and to the minority of Leicester's "base-born" heir, their prospects of profitable employment in their native town were negligible. It was natural, then, for their thoughts to turn to London, with its wider choice of occupations in one or other of the numerous crafts represented by the livery companies of the capital. The variety of that choice was bewildering. It ranged from an apothecary or an armourer to a weaver or a wheelwright. There were, indeed, nigh a hundred crafts to which a youth might be apprenticed. And it must be remembered that the ranks of those apprentices included many of the younger sons of noble families. It is sometimes imagined that for titled people to engage in industry is evidence of the democratic sentiment of these modern days, whereas in the sixteenth century it was common for the sons of peers to become apprentices to London crafts. Sir Philip Sidney belonged to the Grocers' Company; and Strype has shown that during a century and a half from 1531 the Drapers enrolled in their craft eight heads of noble families, forty-three knights or baronets, and numerous Members of Parliament. Indeed, early in the reign of Elizabeth it was enacted that none were to be received as apprentice to a merchant unless his father spent at least ten pounds a year of freehold "or be descended from a gentleman or merchant." [1]

As, then, apprenticeship in one of the London crafts

[1] MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury, I, 163.

was so often a stepping-stone to wealth and title, Magdalen Underhill acted wisely in selecting such a career for two of her orphaned sons. The first to leave the parental roof at Killingworth for London was George, and for him choice was made of the Haberdashers' Company, still renowned as one of the twelve great companies of the capital. Under the date of November 22, 1594, the records of that craft preserve a Latin entry which sets forth that "George Underhill, son of Thomas Underhill, of Killingworth in the county of Warwick, gentleman, deceased, puts himself to John Walley, citizen and haberdasher of London, for eight years."[2] For some unknown reason, however, George Underhill did not complete his eight years' apprenticeship with John Walley. Probably he found that the "craft or mystery" of the haberdasher was not to his liking, and discovered that he had greater aptitude for a wholly different occupation. Hence after three years' service with John Walley, he "turned over" to the Barber-Surgeons' fraternity, becoming an apprentice of Andrew Wheatley toward the end of 1597.

Such transferences from one craft to another were not uncommon; and it is obvious that John Walley did not oppose his apprentice's choice of another occupation. There is proof, indeed, that the two retained a very amicable relation. For, some three years after George Underhill had become a Barber-Surgeon apprentice, John Walley became involved in a lawsuit in which a Sir Edward Reade brought a serious charge against him in connection with goods and a recognisance repre-

[2] Second "Bindings Book" of the Haberdashers' Company, Haberdashers' Hall, London.

senting a value of several hundred pounds, and the most important evidence given for Walley's defence was that of his whilom apprentice.

Certainly George Underhill was a convincing witness, frank in admitting his inability to answer certain questions, but emphatic in his testimony as to matters within his knowledge and recollection. From his deposition, made on a November day of 1600,[3] it is clear that he quickly won the confidence of his master and was familiar with the most intimate details of his business. John Walley, indeed, appears to have had him by his side during all his business negotiations with Sir Edward Reade, so that he was able to bear witness to all the essential facts of the bargaining. He testified, then, how Sir Edward made an agreement "for certen Commodities as worsted and silke stockins, and fustians to the value of 200^{li} or theraboutes," how the contracts for payments were not honoured, that the silk stockings were of John Walley's "owne makinge" and were usually sold "after the rate of 40^{s} a payre," and that when Sir Edward failed to fulfil his part of the transaction Walley would have been willing to take back all the goods but utterly declined a proposal to receive "the fustians only." No record has survived of the final issue of the case, but if, as seems probable, it was settled out of court, there is strong presumption that George Underhill's forthright evidence was a vital factor in that result.

Of his subsequent life in his new occupation there is only one brief record in the archives of the Barber-Surgeons' Company to this effect: "George Underhill admitted the 7 of Aprill 1606 apprentice of Andrew

[3] Public Record Office: Chancery Proceedings; Town Depositions, Bundle 284.

Wheatley."[4] As he appears to have begun his second apprenticeship toward the end of 1597, it follows that he served a full eight years' term in learning his new craft. If that should be regarded as an unconscionably long period for acquiring the accomplishments of shaving and hair-cutting, it must be remembered that at that period the occupation of a hair-dresser had the status of a profession because it was conjoined with the art of surgery. Although to-day the Haberdashers rank among the twelve great companies and the Barber-Surgeons in the minor category, there is little doubt that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the standing of the freemen of the latter was more highly regarded than that of the former. The co-ordination of the barber and surgeon was authorized by the charter granted by Henry VIII in 1540, which restricted the surgical activities of the barbers to the extraction of teeth and blood-letting. Phlebotomy, however, was largely resorted to in those days, and the persistence of the symbols of the craft—the basin which received the blood and the striped pole of which the fillet represents the ribbon used as a bandage—is suggestive of the importance attached to that aspect of the barber-surgeon's art. There is ample evidence, indeed, that the freemen of the Barber-Surgeons' Company were citizens of substance and good social status. Among the treasures still preserved at Barbers' Hall is the large Holbein painting depicting Henry VIII presenting the charter to the warden of the company in the presence of some eighteen members of the craft, and it is impossible to study those well-clad, prosperous looking barber-surgeons without being convinced of the wealth

[4] Book of Freemen of the Barber-Surgeons' Company, Barbers' Hall, London.

and importance of the fraternity. And that impression is heightened by those references to the company which are scattered through the pages of Henry Machyn's curious diary. In one passage the usually matter-of-fact annalist becomes almost dithyrambic in describing a June archery festival of the company. For the prize of a "gret soper" in their own hall at which the dishes were to be thirty in number, the freemen were grouped into two bands to shoot against each other, and the embellishments of the contest included "ij goodley stremers" emblazoned by "the most valeant kyng at armes," two spacious flags to signal the scores on the targets, and, for martial music, "vj drumes plahyng and a flutt." Less than two months later, Machyn recorded the Barber-Surgeons' "fest," which, prefaced by communion and preaching accompanied by "good syngyng," reached its climax in a banquet and a play.[5] Altogether, it was no mean craft of which George Underhill became a freeman in the April of 1606.

Some ten years prior to that event, his younger brother, Hugh, had also left the Killingworth home and joined him in London. And he, too, had come to be bound apprentice to another of the crafts of the capital. The choice was ambitious, for in those days the Goldsmiths' Company held high, probably the highest, rank among the London crafts. While that entry of George Underhill's apprenticeship in 1594 which has been cited above was made by an official of the Haberdashers, the note of Hugh's indenture in the ancient apprentice book of the Goldsmiths' Company is undoubtedly a holograph of the lad himself, for the writing is notably childish. It reads:

[5] *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. John G. Nichols, 286, 290.

"Memorandum that I huegh vnderhill the son of thomes vnderhill have pvt my sef printis to Jhon rovndell for the terme of aleven yers begening at the feast of the nativiti of our lord god in Ao. 1595."[6] Now, as at that date the warden of the Goldsmiths was Sir Richard Martin, who, as Queen Elizabeth's goldsmith, was doubtless well acquainted with that monarch's wardrobe keeper at Greenwich palace, it is not improbable that his influence may have been invoked in favour of the grandson and namesake of the lately-deceased Greenwich official. Certainly the inordinate length of the term of apprenticeship—eleven years—is indicative of some special circumstances in Hugh's indenture. It seems obvious that his mother was anxious to insure his well-being until he had attained his majority, and that consequently John Roundell's instruction and oversight of the lad were to be protracted from his tenth to his twenty-first year. Thus it happened that the two brothers, George and Hugh, although the former was some seven years the senior, became freemen of their respective companies in the same year, 1606.

Three years after George had begun his apprenticeship, and two years after Hugh had joined him in London, the youths became orphans indeed. The exact date of Magdalen Underhill's death is unknown, but as John, her eldest surviving son, was granted the administration of his father's estate in the December of 1597, she probably died in the late fall or early winter of that year. With the death of their mother, the last link which bound the Killingworth children to their native place was snapped. The two younger sons were happily provided

[6] Apprentice Book of the Goldsmiths' Company, Goldsmiths' Hall, London.

for; but what of the daughters, Lettice and Mary? Their ages at the end of 1597 were approximately eighteen and sixteen, and it seems probable that shortly after the death of their mother they also left Killingworth for London.

There is strong presumption that they both found a home in the household of Arnold Oldisworth, who lived in that parish the rural nature of which is clearly suggested by its name of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. In a map of Elizabethan London, indeed, the St. Martin's Lane in which the Oldisworth home was situated is depicted in complete harmony with its rustic title, for there are meadow lands on either side, and hedgerows and trees are more abundant than dwellings. Arnold Oldisworth was a man of means and distinction. Besides having been a member of Parliament, he was the clerk or warden of the hanaper, a department of the chancery to which were paid the fees for the sealing of charters and patents and writs, and from whence were issued certain writs made under the Great Seal. As the courts of law were at Westminster, it was specially convenient for him to have his abode in St. Martin's Lane. And that he was conspicuous among the chief parishioners of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields is further established by a petition addressed to Sir Robert Cecil in the June of 1600.[7] But more important still is it to remember that Arnold Oldisworth had been closely concerned with the business affairs of that Earl of Warwick who had succeeded the Earl of Leicester as lord of Killingworth manor, and that consequently he must have been well acquainted with Thomas Underhill and his family.

[7] MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury, X, 181.

As in Elizabethan days it was common for the sons and daughters of armigerous and titled families to spend several years of their nonage in the service of households of equal or higher social status, and as, further, the ideal of the State at that period was stoutly opposed to idleness, it would have been natural for Lettice and Mary Underhill to welcome a semi-dependent position in the Oldisworth home in St. Martin's Lane. It is certain that the younger sister, Mary, did so; and there are strong reasons for believing that she was accompanied by Lettice. At some time, then, not later than the early months of 1598, four of the Killingworth family were living in London; and at least on Sundays and holidays the two apprentices would be able to visit their sisters in the Oldisworth home.

Soon, too, another young man discovered an attraction in that home. In the petition to Sir Robert Cecil mentioned above, the name of William Spicer is associated with that of Arnold Oldisworth as one of the principal parishioners of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and there can be little doubt that the Reynold Spicer who figures in the marriage register of that parish on the 6th of July, 1600 was his son. Linked with Reynold Spicer in that entry is the name of Lettice Underhill—so speedily had the Killingworth maiden's arrival in London been followed by romance and marriage. And in the register of the parish in which her wedding took place are entries of the baptism of the four children born to her there: Francis, Benjamin, Elizabeth and William.[8]

[8] At least five other children were born to Reynold and Lettice Spicer: three sons, John, Robert, and Henry; and two daughters, Barbara and Anne. Those additions to their family, however, were subsequent to their removal from St. Martin's after 1605. The will of Barbara Spicer (Somerset House: P.C.C.

But the first of those records of a new life was only three days old ere, in the same register, the burials, against the date of December 16, 1601, included this entry: "Maria Underhill." And the churchwardens' accounts for the same date acknowledge the receipt of twopence for the use of the pall and fourpence for the tolling of the bell at that funeral. So even as Lettice became a mother, death deprived her of the sister of her Killingworth childhood days. Mary Underhill can hardly have attained her majority when she died; and it would seem that her fatal illness was sudden in its onset and speedy in its climax. The record of her nuncupative will [9] sets forth that she voluntarily, "because she mistrusted her life by reason of her sicknes," after commending her soul to God and her body to the earth, bequeathed all her goods "to be equallie deuided betweene all her brothers and sister livinge, being present and hearing the same, mistresse Oldesworthe and her sister withe others as witnesse." To that will is appended a statement to the effect that on the 16th of February, 1602, the administration of the possessions of Mary Underhill was granted to George Underhill, her "natural and legitimate brother" because "she named no executor." From a phrase used in that memorandum it appears that Mary Underhill owned goods to the value of over five pounds in at least two dioceses, and, in fact, the inventory of her estate showed that her property was estimated to be worth upwards of thirty pounds. From the wording of Mary's will, and from the fact of George being appointed her executor, it

Scroope) indicates that the Spicer first cousins of Captain John Underhill were possessed of considerable means, for even as a spinster Barbara was able to make monetary bequests to the value of over forty pounds.

[9] Somerset House: Probate Register of Canterbury; 18 Montague.

would seem that of her own family only George and Hugh and Lettice were present at her spoken testament. In the absence of her eldest brother, John, it was natural the administration of her estate should be entrusted to George, for although he had not completed his apprenticeship as a barber-surgeon, he was two or three years beyond the full legal age.

Concerning the subsequent career of George Underhill, apart from the particulars already noted, the old records are silent for nearly twenty years. Where he followed his profession, whether he remained with Andrew Wheatley or had his own business, and whether he married, are unknown. But among those registers of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields which perpetuate the names of his sisters may be read an entry which records how "George Underhill a man" was buried on October 16, 1625. Thus, like his father, he died in about his forty-seventh year. As the word "cleere" is written at the side of the entry of his burial, instead of the word "peste," it may be concluded that George Underhill's death in the prime of manhood was not due to that visitation of the plague which occasioned a heavy mortality in St. Martin's in 1625.

Still fewer years were to constitute the life-span of Hugh Underhill. Becoming a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company at his majority in 1606, he so prospered in his craft that six years later, on the 26th of October, 1612, he married, thus establishing a household toward the plenishing of which his namesake grandfather, fifteen years earlier, had provided him with that "one good bedd well and thoroughly furnished." His bride was Pertesie Bateman, a daughter of Mark Bateman, who resided in

the parish of St. Mary Mounthaw, and who was probably a freeman of the flourishing Fishmongers' Company. The marriage was naturally celebrated in the bride's parish church, the singular name of which was due to it having been the chapel of the Mounthaw family. Although its records have happily survived, the building itself has long disappeared. But the locality is famous for that Monument which celebrates the fact that the Great Fire of London began in its vicinity. It was not here, however, in the Thames-side region, that the young couple had their home, but in the neighbourhood of that Foster Lane off Cheapside where the goldsmiths chiefly congregated.

And in the beautifully written and carefully preserved registers of St. Vedast's Church in Foster Lane may be read several entries which enable us to reconstruct some incidents in the lives of Hugh and Pertesie Underhill.[10] Thus, one entry in the book of christenings reads: "Margarett Vnderhill daughter of Hughe Vnderhill was baptiz'd the same 21st day of February 1615." And then, exactly three years later, this record was made: "Elizabeth Vnderhill daughter of Hughe Vnderhill was baptiz'd the 21st day of February 1618." For the three years which intervened between those two births only one record has survived, in the form of a document connected with a legal process which seems to mark the extinction of the family possessions in their native place.

[10] To the many who delight in the "Hesperides" and "Noble Numbers" of Robert Herrick it will enhance the interest of St. Vedast's Church to recall that the poet was baptized there on an August day of 1591. He was the son of a goldsmith, and as he was apprenticed to his goldsmith uncle in 1607 he may easily have been known by Hugh Underhill. A still more definite link with Herrick is the fact that one of his poetic eulogies was addressed to "the most accomplished gentleman, Master Michael Oldisworth," who was, of course, a son of that Arnold Oldisworth in whose home Mary Underhill died.

A will of a Killingworth tradesman of 1602 testified that the deceased had been the mortgagee of a house which belonged to Hugh Underhill; and there is good reason to suppose that that was the property involved in the legal agreement made in the November of 1616.[11] In brief, that document set forth that, for the sum of forty pounds, Hugh Underhill and Reginald Spicer and his wife Lettice had disposed to George Grissold all their rights in "a cottage and a garden with appurtenances in Kenelworth."

Less amicable were the legal proceedings in which Hugh Underhill became involved seven years later. The process was initiated by one James Christie, who described himself as "of London, yeoman," and the matter in dispute concerned some purchases made from Hugh Underhill on behalf of "the right ho^ble^ Richard Earle of Desmond."[12] According to the version of James Christie, he, the yeoman of London, purchased from Hugh Underhill for the Earl of Desmond "seuerall parcells of gold and silver thread" to the value of £29, for the payment of which he and the Earl gave a joint bond for £50. That was in the April of 1616. At the time Christie raised his suit—November 15, 1623—the Earl, he asserted, had paid £14.15.0, leaving a balance due of £14.5.0. But, Christie declared, Underhill, in view of the "badness of the said gold and sliver thread," had agreed in the August of 1619 to accept £7.5.0 in full

[11] Public Record Office: Feet of Fines, Michaelmas 14 James I. Warwickshire, package 366.

[12] This particular Earl of Desmond had no connection with the historic Fitzgerald line of Ireland, the title of which became extinct in 1601. He was, indeed, a Scot by birth, Richard Preston by name, and as a favourite gentleman of the bedchamber to King James had naturally accompanied his master to England when he succeeded Queen Elizabeth. He was first created Lord Dingwall, and then, in 1619, Earl of Desmond.

discharge of the balance. Nevertheless, now, in 1623, Underhill had had him arrested and was prosecuting him for the "whole penalty" of the original bond for £50. So he prayed the Court that the goldsmith might be subpœnaed to answer his charges.

Hugh Underhill's rejoinder was swift and overwhelming. In one particular only was Christie's statement correct: he had, for divers years, had dealings with the Earl of Desmond. As to the "comodityes" he had sold him, however, Christie's declaration was false. What the Earl had bought was "not any gould or siluer threed att all, but gould and siluer plate purle and oes." [13] As to the purchase in dispute, the transaction had taken place on the 3rd of April, 1616, and as the sale was "on credit" the joint fifty-pounds bond of the Earl and Christie was voluntarily arranged.[14] With regard to the sum in question, Christie had represented it as being £29, whereas it was £30.5.0, and in the bond it had been agreed that £10.5.0 should be paid on the 8th of April, and the balance of £20 on the 29th of May. In another matter, too, Underhill corrected the indictment, stating that instead of the £14.15.0 mentioned by Christie, the Earl had paid him £16. Thus of the original debt there remained due a balance of £14.5.0; and because all his efforts to procure

[13] Hugh Underhill's distinction, upon which he insisted several times, was evidently of great importance. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary,* "purle" was a "thread or cord made of twisted gold or silver wire, used for bordering or embroidery"; and "oes" were "small circular spangles used to ornament dress in the seventeenth century." Bacon, the language of whose *Essays* illustrates the usage of the period, in his "Of Masques," wrote: "Oes, or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory."

[14] There was good reason why Hugh Underhill was obliged to have security for payment. In the *Calendar of Domestic Papers* for this period, under the date of July, 1615, is an entry recording that the King had granted the Earl of Desmond "protection from arrest for debt for eight months." Obviously, the Earl had been incurring expenses beyond his means, and it behooved such craftsmen as goldsmiths to be cautious.

payment had failed, and because the money was "so longe forborne," namely, "aboue Seaven yeares," he had no alternative save to have Christie arrested and prosecuted. Finally, after stoutly denying that he had ever offered to compound the debt or admitted the "badness" of the materials supplied, Underhill declared his willingness to cancel his suit and deliver up the bond on payment of the sum due.[15] As the documents do not bear any endorsements, the inference is that the Earl of Desmond and his fellow bondsman did at last discharge their long overdue obligations.

A little more than a year later, Hugh Underhill ceased to be vexed with defaulting clients or any of life's other burdens. In the burials' register of St. Vedast's Church an entry reads: "Hugh Vnderhill was buried Dec. 9th 1624." Unlike his sister Mary, he had had due warning of his approaching end, and time to prepare a detailed expression of his last wishes, his will being dated the 30th of August, 1624.[16] Although "Sicke and weake in bodie," the preamble ran, he was "of good and perfecte memorie." His most considerable monetary bequests were to his daughters Margaret and Elizabeth, each of whom was to receive £250 on the day of her marriage or when she reached the age of twenty-one.[17] Other family legacies

[15] Public Record Office: Chancery Proceedings C2, James I. C8, 64.

[16] Somerset House: P.C.C. 108 Byrde.

[17] By a custom of which the origin is unknown, but which is held to have had its source in Roman law, the Court of Aldermen of London asserted its authority over the welfare and property of minor orphans of freemen of the city. Hence, on Feb. 28, 1637, a Nathaniel Seaborne, citizen and goldsmith, testified to the Court that Margaret Underhill, one of the daughters and orphans of Hugh Underhill, citizen and goldsmith, deceased, was of the age of twenty-one and unmarried. Whereupon the Court granted her "child's part" according to her father's will. (Guildhall: Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, 28 Feb. 1636-7.) Also, on the 14th of Feb. in 1638, Elizabeth Underhill was granted by the Court license to "marry Thomas Heydon, of London, gentleman." That

included ten pounds to his sister Lettice Spicer and six pounds to her son William when he had completed his apprenticeship. Then, in addition to gifts to the poor of St. Vedast's parish and to "Margarett Emerson my nowe servant," his other distinctive bequests included two which suggest that Hugh Underhill was a man of social and convivial disposition, for he left to the Company of Brotherers a silver gilt cup in remembrance of his "loue and affeccon," and stipulated that forty shillings were to be paid to the Gold Wiredrawers "to be spent in a Supper amongst them." The residue of his estate was to become the property of his "lovinge wief Pertesie." [18]

One clause of Hugh Underhill's will has still to be noted. "Item," it read, "I will and bequeath vnto the poore of the parishe of Killingworth in the County of Warwicke where I was borne the some of Fortie shillinges of like mony to be distributed amongst them by the discretion of the Churchwardens of the same parishe."

Nearly thirty years had passed since, as a lad of ten, he had left his boyhood home in the lovely countryside of Warwickshire; and out of the two score years which had been allotted to him as his span of life, three decades had been spent in London. But Killingworth still abode

license was taken advantage of fourteen days later, for the register of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, London, records that "Thomas Heydon gent and Elizabeth Underhill" were married on the 28th of Feb. 1638. Elizabeth contracted a second marriage with one John Offley. By the will of their maternal grandfather, each sister was bequeathed a sum of five pounds in 1625. From the will of Robert Moore (Somerset House: P.C.C. 218 Grey) it appears that Margaret Underhill married Thomas Webb, citizen and Sadler, and had a daughter whose name of "Portesay" is reminiscent of the name of Hugh Underhill's wife, Pertesie.

[18] Within a year of her husband's death, Pertesie Underhill married again, her second husband being Robert Moore, who was also a citizen and goldsmith of London. She evidently pre-deceased him, for in his will, proved in Nov. 1651, there is no mention of his wife.

in his memory; and, like the sun, which at its setting irradiates the hills whence it rose, his dying thoughts turned in tender affection to the haunts of his childhood. Like that nephew who was to make the Underhill name famous in the New World, Hugh was no stranger to that sentiment which was to be enshrined in the household words of a later American singer:

> How dear to this heart are the scenes of my childhood,
> When fond recollection presents them to view.

And it is gratifying to learn that the poor of Killingworth were not deprived of the benefit of his bequest, for the Churchwardens' accounts of the parish duly record the receipt and disbursement of "ye guifte of Mr Hugh Underhill of London."

As has been recorded above, in less than a year after Hugh's death, his brother George had followed him to the grave. But what of the elder son, John? How had he fared in the battle of life?

Remembering that on the death of his mother towards the end of 1597, he was granted the administration of his father's estate, becoming the head of the family and the guardian of his minor brothers and sisters, he must have attained his majority by that year. The presumption, indeed, is that he was born about 1574, and thus was practically the same age as the Earl of Leicester's "base born" son, Robert Dudley. In the case of John Underhill we are deprived of those documentary evidences of occupation which have illumined the life-stories of his younger brothers, George and Hugh. To a considerable extent, therefore, the reconstruction of his career has to depend upon a hypothesis, but a hypothesis which affords

the only reasonable clue to several of the most important events of his life. In brief, the theory in question is that, as his father's fortunes had been closely linked with those of the Earl of Leicester, so, for a decade or more, John Underhill, as the eldest of the Killingworth family, was intimately associated with the enterprises of Leicester's "base born" son. Such an association is explanatory of two facts: one that there was apparently no thought of having him apprenticed to a London craft; the other that he was clearly the adventurous member of the family, and hence seems to have lost touch with his brothers and sisters. It is highly probable that his father trained him in his own duties as custodian of Leicester's household treasures and as confidential retainer, and he may well have harboured the expectation that when Robert Dudley came into his heritage as lord of Killingworth manor and castle he would hold a position comparable to that of his father.

Robert Dudley was a man of more than ordinary ability, and he made excellent use of his opportunities at Christ Church, Oxford, to improve his natural gifts. In his later years he was distinguished for his knowledge of languages and for proficiency in mathematics. But in youth and early manhood his great enthusiasm was that passion for sea adventure so rife in Elizabethan days. According to his own confession, ever since he could conceive anything he had been "delighted with the discoveries of navigation." Hence his niche, small but honourable, in Richard Hakluyt's noble gallery of the heroes of *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation.* As soon as he was of age, inspired by the example and friendship

of Thomas Cavendish, one of whose sisters he married, he planned an expedition to the South Seas, but that venture was forbidden by Queen Elizabeth. He was, however, permitted to indulge in a more modest adventure in the form of an exploring voyage to the West Indies. Now there is good reason to believe that he took John Underhill with him on that enterprise. For when Dudley reached England again towards the end of May, 1595, it was at "S.Ives in Cornwall" he landed; and it was a maiden of the parish in which St. Ives is situated, Honor Pawley by name, whom John Underhill took to wife. Those details are beyond question; and that John Underhill's bride belonged to a part of England so remote as St. Ives from Killingworth is inexplicable save on the assumption that he had voyaged with Robert Dudley and had landed with him in that land's-end region. For it must be remembered that, save with families of the nobility, whose attendance at Court or on royal progresses enabled them to travel, the majority of English folk in the late sixteenth century rarely left their native counties, and that, to an overwhelming extent, marriages were between those who lived in the same vicinity.[19]

On the assumption that John Underhill accompanied the lord of Killingworth manor on his voyage to the West Indies, it is highly probable that he was also among the retainers with whom Dudley reinforced the Earl of Essex's expedition to and heroic capture of Cadiz in the

[19] A sadder aftermath of the landing of Robert Dudley's expedition at St. Ives seems indicated in an entry in the register of the neighbouring parish of Madron, which, on Dec. 3, 1599, records the burial of "Michel Thomas a Warwickshire man a sowldier." That Michael Thomas should have found a grave so distant from his native county is strong presumption that he was one of the followers Dudley had recruited from Killingworth.

summer of 1596;[20] but the next definite date in the biography of the father of the future Captain of New England is an October day of 1597.

For that clue we are indebted to a suit which John Underhill and his wife Honor instituted by a bill of complaint on October 18th, 1597.[21] The papers relating to their action are copious and notable for their legal diffuseness and tautology, but the purport is clear. The petitioners claimed the restitution of houses and lands which were, they asserted, the property of Honor as the heiress of James Pawley, the deeds for which had "deceitfully come into the hands" of the persons indicted. As the suit failed, no purpose would be served by a detailed account of the matters involved; the primary interest of the petition consists in its references to the petitioners. Thus John Underhill described himself as "of Westminster in the countye of Middlesex gentleman," and pleaded that the refusal of the defendants to restore the property in dispute was "to the utter overthrowe and decaie of your poore orators theire children and familey." Was that reference to "children and familey" an appeal *ad misericordiam*? Of course, however, if a swift wooing and wedding followed John Underhill's landing at St. Ives toward the end of May, 1595, it would have been possible for two children to have been born by the date of the petition. Then there is the question of domicile. Was "of Westminster" indicative merely of temporary

[20] One of the oldest traditions associated with Captain John Underhill is that he took part in the capture of Cadiz. So far as the exploit of 1596 is concerned, the legend is obviously absurd. The other, inglorious, attempt on Cadiz was made in 1626. At that time Captain John Underhill was in Holland, and there is no evidence that he was among the English officers who took part in that fruitless expedition. The persistence of the tradition, however, may have had its origin in his father's participation in the victory of 1596.

[21] Public Record Office: C2, Uu 2, No. 30.

abode, necessary for insertion in a legal document? What is beyond question is that on the day following the date of his petition, namely the 19th of October, 1597, John Underhill was present at Westminster to make "oth for the servinge of a Subpoena."

Seven days later he was at Killingworth, and there is no direct evidence of any subsequent sojourn in London.[22] If it should seem singular that he left London so soon after beginning his legal action, it must be remembered that, as the answers to his complaints had to be obtained from Cornwall, some months would necessarily elapse ere the case could proceed. Hence, his actual presence was not essential. But there was probably another reason why he went to Killingworth. As his mother died in the late fall or early winter of this year, it may well have been that it was the beginning of her fatal illness which summoned him home. Whatever the explanation, he was no sooner back than "Isabell Applebye, of Kenilworth, widow," requisitioned him to witness her will, and on that document, dated the 26th of October, 1597, the name of John Underhill takes precedence of the other two witnesses. Moreover, on the 12th of the following

[22] Of course the absence of evidence is not conclusive. Mr. J. H. Morrison believes it was necessary for Underhill to be in London about November, 1597, in connection with the "turning over" of his brother George from the Haberdashers to the Barber-Surgeons. Again, Mr. Morrison made a discovery at the Public Record Office (De Banco Roll 1661/809 dorse, Easter 1601) which, in his opinion, affords presumption that he was in London in the early part of 1601. The entry gives particulars of an action for violent assault brought by John Underhill against three men, two of whom were from St. Ives. It is upon the latter fact Mr. Morrison relies for identifying that John Underhill with the husband of Honor Pawley. On the other hand, there were other John Underhills in London at that date, notably John Underhill of Pillarton, who had recently completed his apprenticeship and been admitted as a freeman. It was in the February of 1601 that London was disturbed by the mad rebellion of the Earl of Essex, and as many apprentices and young freemen were involved in the turmoil it is probable the assault on John Underhill was an incident of that uproar.

month he was one of the three appraisers of the inventory of the "goodes and cattell" of Isabel Applebye. And then, on the 19th of December, he was granted administration of his father's estate in succession to his late mother.

But a month before John Underhill's return there had happened at Killingworth castle an event which was not without significance in relation to his own affairs. Having lost his first wife, Sir Robert Dudley—he had been knighted for his bravery at the capture of Cadiz—had married a second time in 1596, his bride being Alicia, a daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, of the adjacent parish of Stoneleigh; and the fact that the first-born of that union was baptized at Killingworth on the 25th of September, 1597, is evidence that the Earl of Leicester's "base born" son had come into the peaceful enjoyment of the castle and manor. It is a natural inference from such circumstances that Sir Robert Dudley should have taken into his household or given employment to the retainer who had shared the perils of his expedition and was besides the son of his father's trusted steward. It is clear also, from a mortgage which John Underhill effected in 1601, that some of the family property was still a negotiable asset. There are, indeed, excellent reasons for concluding that from the closing months of 1597 to the summer of 1605 it was at Killingworth or in its vicinity that John and Honor Underhill had their home, thus enriching the memory of their son John with those recollections of that lovely Warwickshire region which abode with him to the end of his days.[23]

[23] According to tradition, Captain John Underhill was born at Baginton on 7 Oct. 1597. As all the late sixteenth century church records of Killingworth and the nearby parish of Baginton have disappeared, it is impossible to verify

Yet it is to be feared that their resources were somewhat meagre. The fact that about 1600 he mortgaged some of the property for which he was guardian seems significant of pressing necessity; and the old records contain another suggestion of a similar nature. It appears that at Exall, a small parish not far distant from Killingworth, he, on the 5th of August, 1600, contracted a debt of £8 with one John Milward jnr., giving him a bill, "sealed with his seal," in which he undertook to repay 46/— on the 6th of the following month, and a further 46/— on the last day of the year. But he was not able to meet those obligations; and even late in 1604 the debt was still unpaid. Hence the action which John Milward jnr. raised against "John Underyll late of Kyllyngworthe in the countye of Warr' gentleman." The case was continued in the Hilary Term of the following year, and, despite some legal objection raised by his attorney, John Underhill was ordered to pay and fined.[24] Thus far, no further record of his life on English soil has come to light.

But in those early years of the seventeenth century, Sir Robert Dudley interested himself in matters which had important issues. Having obtained possession of his father's manor and castle of Killingworth, he naturally became anxious to clear his name of the stigma of illegitimacy. But his efforts to prove that his father had married the Lady Douglas Sheffield, and that therefore

or correct the Baginton tradition. It may have had its origin in the fact that even in Dugdale's time the residence of Ralph Underhill at Baginton was known as "Underhill's Farm." Ralph, it will be remembered, was the brother of Edward the "Hot Gospeller," and of Hugh, the great-grandfather of Captain John.

[24] Public Record Office: Court of Common Pleas, C.P. 40/1721/1120 dorse; and C.P. 40/1722/111 and dorse.

he was of legal and not "base" birth, aroused the Countess Lettice to exert all her wiles and influence. If Leicester had married the Lady Douglas, her union with him was illegal. And the Countess Lettice triumphed. Voluminous evidence was collected carefully; and then, by some mysterious means, all the documents were impounded and the proceedings quashed. And to this day the case remains one of the unsolved problems of family history.

But the failure, plus another cause, changed the whole course of Sir Robert Dudley's life. From the Earl of Leicester he had inherited not merely a fine physique but also a waywardness of sexual desire; and as his father abandoned the Lady Douglas for the Lady Lettice, so he wearied of the homely virtues of Alicia Leigh and succumbed to the charms of Elizabeth Southwell, a renowned beauty of the time. The climax of his infatuation appears to have coincided with the failure to establish his legitimacy; or perhaps it may have been that failure which impelled him to the course he pursued. Whatever the sequence of events, the Privy Council Register of June 25th, 1605, has this record: "A license for Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, to travel beyond the seas for three years next after his departure, with three servants, four geldings or nags, and £80 in money, with usual provisions."

When, by virtue of that permission, Dudley left England shortly thereafter, Elizabeth Southwell accompanied him disguised as a page; and the Rev. William Best, a vicar of Killingworth who wrote a history of his parish from trustworthy data, stated that Dudley's objective was "Jermany." Dudley and Elizabeth South-

well, however, did not tarry in the Netherlands, if they went there, but journeyed on through France into Italy, where they spent the remainder of their lives.

Not so John and Honor Underhill. There is little question that he was one of the three retainers included in Dudley's license to travel; and such evidence as has survived with relation to his subsequent career indicates that he decided to remain in what the Rev. William Best described as "Jermany." That decision is not surprising. Although James of England would have been relieved if he could have abandoned Elizabeth's policy in aiding the Netherlands in the struggle with Spain, circumstances prevented such a betrayal of Protestant interests. Consequently the military forces of the Netherlands were constantly being reinforced by English officers and soldiers. In the "Licenses to pass beyond Seas" preserved in the Public Record Office are many entries similar to the following: "Richard Morris, aged 24 years, intending to pass over to Flushing to serve as a soldier under the States"; and the extent of English assistance may be inferred from the fact that a list of English garrisons included as many as twelve towns.[25] Having had experience of adventure with Dudley on his expedition and probably at the assault on Cadiz, it would have been natural for John Underhill to elect to follow a soldier's career either with his fellow countrymen or with the forces of the Netherlands. Researches in Holland by J. H. Morrison, of London, England, in collaboration with Dr. de Pater of The Hague, Holland, establish the fact that on Dec. 13, 1607, John Underhill was serving as Sergeant in Captain Roger Orme's Company at

[25] British Museum: Add. MS. 6394, f. 175.

Bergen-op-Zoom and in an account of lodging or service money in 1608, he is listed as dead. In the archives of Brabant, now preserved at 's Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc) is the record of the decision given in an action raised by "Leonora Onderhiel"[26] against a Captain Roger Orme. The nature of the action does not transpire, but judgment was given in favour of Captain Orme on the 8th of January, 1618.

For more than a decade, there is a blank in the history of Honor Underhill. And then, on the 12th of November, 1628, she emerges from obscurity once more. In almost identical terms, two different records at The Hague set forth that, on the date mentioned, "Leonora Onderhiel, widow of John Onderhiel, both from England, and dwelling at The Hague," was betrothed to "Dirck Thomas, swordcutler"; and that the marriage was performed by E. Modeus on the 28th of November, 1628.[27]

Seven days subsequent to the earlier of the dates given above, an entry of far greater interest was made in the Betrothal Records of The Hague. It was to this effect: "John, the son of John Onderhiel, cadet in the guard of the Prince of Orange, betrothed 19 November 1628 with Heyltgen, daughter of William de Hooch, young maiden from Gorinchem, both dwelling at The Hague." Con-

[26] In the Dutch records, "Underhill" naturally became "Onderhiel" or "Onderhill," and "Honor" lent itself to the change into "Leonora" as a form more familiar in the Netherlands. "John," of course, became "Jan." In his suggestive study of *Echoes of the Pilgrim Fathers' Speech,* Professor A. J. Barnouw writes: "Such spellings as deviate from those which are known or, more or less justifiably, supposed to have been in use amongst the Pilgrims themselves, denote either a phonetic peculiarity in the pronunciation of the latter or an adaptation of the unfamiliar English sounds to their nearest substitutes in Dutch."

[27] Betrothal Book of The Hague, part 777; Betrothal and Marriage Records of the Kloosterkerk, The Hague, part 238.

THE KLOOSTER KERK (CHURCH) IN THE HAGUE, HOLLAND, ABOUT 1600

Here Captain John Underhill was married to his first wife, December 12, 1628

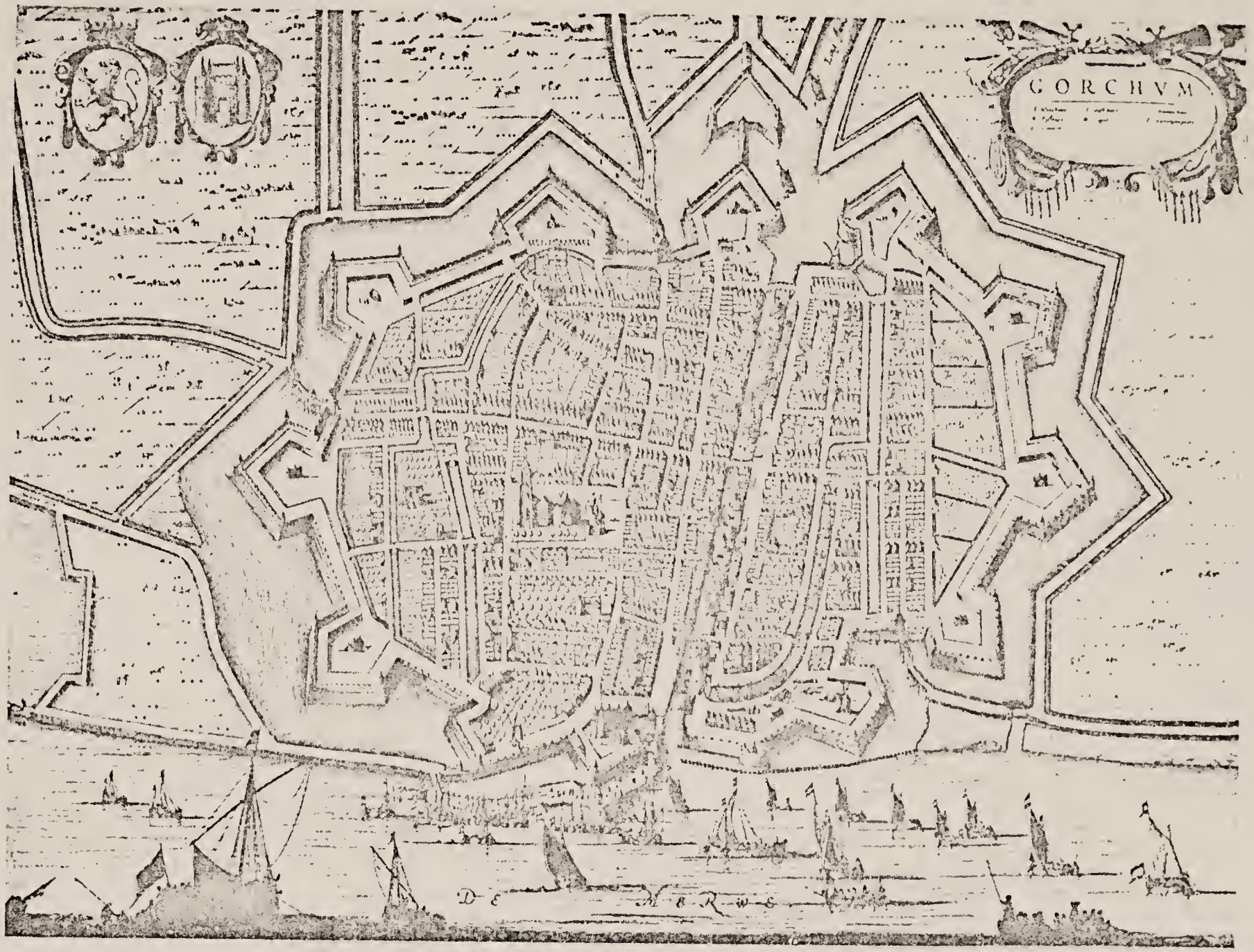
firmatory of that attestation, a similar entry was made in the Betrothal Records of Gorinchem on the 26th November, with the additional clause that authority was "given to marry at The Hague." And a third and final memorandum was entered in the Betrothal Records of the Kloosterkerk at The Hague which, after repeating the particulars quoted above, stated that the marriage was "solemnised the 12 December 1628 in the Kloosterkerk by minister Ludovicum."

Those three entries are our earliest authentic records of the life of John Underhill, the future Captain of New England and New Netherland. Apart from the identification of the maiden name of his wife, Heyltgen or Heylken—afterwards Anglicized into Helena—de Hooch and her native town, the chief interest of those ancient writings is that they all bear testimony to the fact that by the end of 1628 he was attached to the guard of the Prince of Orange. The word describing his rank—*Adelborst*—is stated to indicate that his status was next to that of lieutenant, and that he was attached to the artillery.

Nine years later, on American soil, Underhill claimed that he had often spoken freely of military matters to Count Nassau, and as Count Frederick Henry did not become Prince of Orange until the April of 1625, it follows that by 1628 he had already acquired some years' military experience. Indeed, a fellow campaigner in the Netherlands stated that he and Underhill were "bred soldiers from our youth," and Underhill himself once affirmed that he had "spent all his days about a calling." Nor could he have desired a more efficient exemplar of the art of war than Count Frederick Henry,

who was hardly inferior in military genius to his brother Maurice; and his field service with that general probably included the gallant attempt to relieve Breda in 1625, the capture of Groll in 1627, and the persistent and victorious siege of Bois-le-Duc in April-September, 1629.

Although he had been long absent from his native land, there were many circumstances in his life in the Netherlands calculated to remind him of England. Intercourse between the two countries—commercial, social, and military—was frequent; and, above all, the interests of the two peoples were deeply engaged in the welfare of Protestantism. In the conflicts of sects in England, too, the Low Countries became the haven of the oppressed, so that Amsterdam was scorned as "the Fair of all the Sects where all the Pedlars of Religion have leave to vend their Toyes." Thither the Separatists of Scrooby fled for refuge, soon to remove to Leyden, where, for more than a decade prior to 1620, they were a constant reminder of England and English intolerance. When the Separatists decided upon the great adventure which was to give them immortality as the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower,* their enterprise must have become known to Underhill. Nor could he have been ignorant of other matters which would enlighten him as to the new lands across the Atlantic. In a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, English Ambassador at The Hague, the Council for Virginia stated that they had addressed letters to all the colonels and other officers of English soldiers in the Netherlands urging them to advance "the worthy enterprise of planting Colonies of our Nation in the fruitful and rich country of Virginia"; and not long after this



THE WALLED TOWN OF GORINCHEM, HOLLAND, WITH ITS MOAT, ABOUT 1630

The home town of Helena, first wife of Captain John Underhill

Winwood was implored to procure subscribers "in the new Lottery erected for the support of the plantation in Virginia." [28]

But in the year following his marriage, John Underhill must have become familiar with the schemes which were being matured for the purpose of establishing English plantations in the northern regions of the American continent. The Pilgrims had led the way; the Puritans were soon to follow. And there were many at The Hague who had a deep sympathy for and even a personal interest in those religious convictions of the time which were rendering England intolerable to those who refused to conform to Laudian ceremony and doctrine. The probable means by which the cadet in the guard of the Prince of Orange became involved in the issues of the Puritan revolt will be discussed in the ensuing chapter; but that by the February of 1630 he had decided to leave the Netherlands and follow his fortune in New England is suggested by a document to which he put his signature on the 26th of that month. On that date he appeared before the legal authorities, in the company of a Dutchman who had married another daughter of William de Hooch, for the purpose of agreeing to a deed by which he and his brother-in-law, on behalf of their wives, renounced, for the benefit of the five minor children of William de Hooch, any further claim on the family property. The document also states that Underhill was paid one hundred guilders in satisfaction of "all claims," and bears his signature in the Dutch form of "Jan Onderberch." The inference from that transaction is that he was realizing all available assets in preparation for that

[28] MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury, I, 103, 122.

task in New England to which he had been destined. And in Old England, meanwhile, events were ripening which were to provide the means and the opportunity for the fulfilment of that destiny.

CHAPTER IV

MILITANT PURITANS

BETWEEN the Pilgrim Exodus of 1620 and the Puritan Armada of 1630 there was a difference more profound than appears on the surface. It was not merely that the Pilgrims could charter only a single ship to the dozen vessels of the Puritan fleet, or that while the former had definitely separated from the Church of England the latter still described that Church as their "dear Mother"; but that at the root of the larger adventure there were designs quite alien from those of the simple voyagers in the *Mayflower*.

Lowell recognized that difference. Having a poet's divination of the springs of human action, he was able to appraise the secret motives of the Puritans more precisely than many a professed historian. "It is true," he wrote, "that Jefferson embodied in the Declaration of Independence the speculative theories he had learned in France, *but the impulse to separation came from New England*. . . . The facts will only fit comfortably together on a single plan, namely, that the fathers did have a conception of founding here a commonwealth."[1] In truth, although it may seem rank heresy to venture the assertion, a careful study of the documents of the period leads to the conclusion that John Winthrop and his associates were potential, even intentional, rebels. And be-

[1] *The Writings of James Russell Lowell*, II, 75.

cause that fact has not been frankly recognized, and its implications fully appreciated, scant justice has been awarded to the military services of Captain John Underhill.[2]

What were the ultimate intentions of the Puritans compared with those of the Pilgrims may be partially realized by an examination of the records which narrate how each company prepared for their departure to the new world. William Bradford's simple yet eloquent history is wholly devoid of martial allusions. He does devote many pages to the "preparation to this waightie vioag," but they are chiefly concerned with methods for securing the necessary funds, and plans as to how the lands were to be divided and tilled when the colonists were settled in their new home. As to what cargo the *Mayflower* was to carry, apart from that human freight which must have taxed its capacity to painful inconvenience, there are a few references to salt, nets, cloth, stockings, shoes, beer, "and other provisions"; and that is all. Arms had apparently been forgotten; for only at the eleventh hour did the Pilgrims realize that not every man had even his customary sword, and that there was a serious lack of muskets and armour. If the Pilgrims had been militant in their preparations, they might have sold sixty pounds' worth of ordnance and arms and gunpowder to pay their

[2] Among the few who have understood the ultimate motives of the Puritans was John Forster, the biographer of Sir John Eliot, who wrote: "It was in this very year [1629] that the company of Massachusetts-bay was formed; and though the immediate design had scarcely at first extended beyond the provision of a refuge abroad for the victims of tyranny in church and state at home, it soon became manifest that there had entered also into it a larger and grander scheme: that with mere security for liberty of person and freedom to worship God, had mingled the hope of planting in those distant regions a free commonwealth and citizenship to balance and redress the old."—*Sir John Eliot*, II, 531.

port dues instead of being obliged to impoverish their commissariat by denuding their stores of eighty firkins of butter.

Had the Puritans been in such a dilemma, they could easily—had they dared—have sold sixty pounds' worth of their warlike equipment without any appreciable loss.

For to turn from the simple food and clothing preparations of the Pilgrims to the elaborate combative provisions of the Puritans presents a striking contrast in tranquillity and belligerency. From the earliest pages of the official records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, and onward through the minutes of the meetings, the entries are bellicose to a degree.[3] One of the earliest entries set forth the "necessaries" which were to be "prepared forthwith." Five pieces of ordnance had been "long since bought and paid for," and Mr. John Humphrey was "entreated" to have them promptly delivered. Among the other "necessaries" were halberds, muskets, bandoleers, powder-flasks, swords, pikes and half-pikes, corselets, barrels of gunpowder, and copious supplies of small and great shot. Contracts were made with Samuel Sharpe for the oversight of "artillery business" and with Thomas Graves for his expert services in planning all kinds of forts and defensive works. With Thomas Stevens, armourer, John Gace, turner, and one Churchill, a sword-cutler, agreements were signed for large quantities of their respective wares, "to be delivered next meeting" or "to be delivered within eight days." And to their agent already dispatched to the new world

[3] Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 26 Feb. 1628; and *passim*.

—John Endicott—the Company wrote: "That you may be the better able to resist both foreign enemies and the natives, if either should assail you, we pray you to let all such as live under our government, both servants and other planters and their servants, be exercised in the use of arms, and certain times appointed to muster them."[4] So pronounced, indeed, was the attention given to the martial equipment of the Puritan adventurers that in a financial statement prepared in 1629 as large a sum—five hundred pounds—was set aside for munitions as for "merchandise for trade."[5] In all these warlike affairs the Company did not lack expert military advice, for among the assistants were two competent officers of the Honourable Artillery Company, Captain John Venn and Captain Henry Waller. Nor should it be overlooked that Samuel Sharpe, the overseer of "artillery business," Thomas Andrews, Nathaniel Wright, Thomas Adams, John Pocock, John Revell, Edward Cooke, Daniel Ballard, Edmund Whyte, and Samuel Vassall—all of whom were intimately associated with the Massachusetts Company—were soldiers in the famous London regiment. Hence there were occasions when the list of those present at a General Court or a Court of Assistants had the appearance of a roll-call of the Honourable Artillery Company.

Nor, if less conspicuous on the records, were the military preparations of the Massachusetts Company abated when John Winthrop joined the adventurers. On the contrary, they seem to have been planned on a more comprehensive scale. He, indeed, appears to have gathered

[4] *Chronicles of the First Planters of Massachusetts Bay*, 157.
[5] *Ibid.*, 110.

together a kind of inner cabinet in the persons of Isaac Johnson, Emanuel Downing and several others, whose policy and discussions can be divined only from scattered hints in personal correspondence and from actions which were not disclosed until some years later.

Soon after Charles I took the disastrous course of deciding to dismiss his third Parliament and carry on the government himself, a step which set his feet in the path which was to lead him to the scaffold, John Winthrop lost his official position and realized that the crisis of his life had come. And it was at that juncture he became deeply interested in the projects of the Massachusetts Company and decided to seek another home in New England.

So it came to pass that on one and the same day in the midsummer of 1629—July 28th—events took place in such separate localities as a country mansion in Lincolnshire and a merchant's home in London which were fraught with momentous consequences. That date, July 28th, 1629, and not July 4th, 1776, was the real Independence Day: for on that day Massachusetts was founded; and *"the impulse to separation came from New England."* In the country mansion in Lincolnshire, the host, Isaac Johnson—whose wife was the Lady Arbella, sister of the Earl of Lincoln—and his two guests, John Winthrop and Emanuel Downing, engaged in solemn discussion on the proposals which were at the same time being submitted to a special General Court of the Massachusetts Company by the Governor, Matthew Cradock.[6] Those proposals were to the effect that for the better advancement of the plantation in New England, "and

[6] *Ibid.*, 85.

for other weighty reasons," it had become advisable and necessary to "transfer the government of the plantation to those that shall inhabit there." Naturally, such a drastic innovation occasioned "some debate"; and in the sequel it was resolved to defer the decision to the next monthly meeting of the Court. But in the meantime all the members were pledged *"to carry the business secretly, that the same be not divulged."*

Winthrop was in complete agreement with Cradock's proposals; and a few days before the next meeting of the General Court he, and eleven others, at a conference in Cambridge—probably held in the home of the venerable Laurence Chaderton, master-emeritus of Emmanuel College, that "nest of Puritans"—solemnly agreed "to pass the seas, to inhabit and continue in New England," provided that "the whole government, together with the Patent for the said plantation be first, by an order of the Court, legally transferred and established to remain with us and others which shall inhabit upon the said plantation."[7] As the most influential members of the Company were heartily in favour of the plan to remove the Charter and government to New England, it was, at a full Court, agreed to by "general consent."

Faithfully was the pledge to secrecy observed. Necessarily, indeed; for if the project had been divulged the prospective founders of the new commonwealth would have found it difficult, if not impossible, to leave England. Their action in deciding to take the Charter out of England and set up the active government of the Company in Massachusetts Bay, was undoubtedly illegal. Winthrop and his colleagues were conscious of that fact.

[7] Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, I, 345.

It is true that the General Court decided to take the advice of "learned counsel" as to whether they could legally carry out their proposals; but it is also significantly true that there is not the least record of the advice of "learned counsel" or whether it was ever sought or given. But on this vexed question of early New England history the conclusive evidence was surely supplied by Charles Deane when, by producing the docket of the Charter of 1629, he established that the intention of that document was to create a corporation to reside in England and not in New England.[8] Indeed, the Charter had been gone from England some four years before the Crown authorities were aware of the fact, as is evident from Cradock's anxious letter to Winthrop in the summer of 1634.[9]

While those great matters were being debated and decided upon in the July and August of 1629, Winthrop —amid the peace of his country home in Suffolk—was engaged in the characteristic occupation of clarifying his thoughts by committing to paper all the arguments which might be urged in favour of the weighty adventure to which he had pledged himself. Many of the reflections which he embodied in those "Reasons to be considered" were naturally of a religious complexion; but he did not ignore more mundane matters. And he was particularly careful to examine such objections as he imagined could be raised against the proposal to establish a new commonwealth in Massachusetts Bay. Having replied to those who should argue that New England was deficient in "natural fortifications," he turned to deal at greater length with the objections of such as might plead that

[8] Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XI, 172-173.
[9] *Winthrop's Journal*, ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 128.

the colonists could expect to be preserved only by a miracle. To such faint-hearted counsels he rejoined with robust confidence.

> We appeal [he wrote] to the judgment of soldiers if 500 men may not in one month raise a fortification which with sufficient munition and victual they may not make good against 3000 for many months, and yet without miracle. We demand an instance of any Prince or State that hath raised 3000 soldiers, and hath victualled them for six or eight months with shipping and munition answerable to invade a place so far distant as this is from any foreign enemy, and where they must run a hazard of repulse, and no booty or just title of sovereignty to allure them.[10]

That dual argument, visualizing defence and attack, is profoundly significant. Clearly, Winthrop had in mind the founding on American soil of such a State or Commonwealth as would involve separation from the mother country;[11] and it was reasonable to argue that five hundred men, with efficient defensive works and thoroughly equipped with ordnance and all other munitions, would be able to repel an attack by even three thousand men who had no base save their ships and had to rely for their reinforcements and munitions on supplies far distant over the stormy Atlantic. No wonder the records of the Massachusetts Company are so replete with entries relating to martial preparations.

[10] Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, I, 316.

[11] A significant example of the trend of Winthrop's reasoning on the relations of the colonists with England is afforded by some reflections he penned when a question arose as to the jurisdiction of the Parliament over Massachusetts. "If," he argued, "the Parliament should hereafter be of a malignant spirit, etc., then if we have strength sufficient, we may make use of salus populi to withstand any authority from thence to our hurt."—*Winthrop's Journal*, ed. J. K. Hosmer, II, 186.

Nor does the evidence of those records stand alone. Of course the minutes of the General Court and the Court of Assistants were known only to the active members of the Company, and we may be confident that they were kept as profound a secret as the decision to remove the Charter to New England. But in addition to the evidence of the records, further proof of the belligerent activity of Winthrop and his most intimate friends is written in the private correspondence of those momentous days.

Isaac Johnson and Winthrop's eldest son were deeply in the secret of the military preparations. In the mid-December of 1629, when Winthrop had returned to his Suffolk home, Johnson wrote a long letter to keep his friend informed as to how matters were progressing in London. After reporting that he had met Emanuel Downing (Winthrop's brother-in-law), he continued: "Mr. Edsbury [12] we met withal, who hopes to get us 20 pieces of ordnance, and the *Charles*. Touching buying of ordnance ourselves, we conferred with the master-gunner, with Captain Waller and Captain Venn; and upon agitation we find that the new metal will quickly heat and reverse, so that we are quite off them, save for a drake or two." After turning to other matters for a sentence or so, Johnson resumed his comments on the question which was evidently engrossing his attention. It was necessary for several members of the Company to interview a minister who desired to go to New England, and Winthrop's son would have been a suitable member of the deputation; but, Johnson objected, "I fear we can-

[12] William Edsbury was another member of the Honourable Artillery Company, he having joined the regiment on Feb. 5th, 1628. He kept his word as to the *Charles*.

not spare him, because he is to study gunnery here for after employment." Then he added: "We have writ a letter to Sir N. Rich[13] to get a letter from him to Captain Gosnall, that your son may by his means take a view and plot of Harwich fort for us; for which I pray you let him have time, and the Company will be thankful."

Ere Johnson dispatched his epistle to Winthrop, he was able to report definite progress in getting access to the fort at Harwich; as this postscript discloses:

I have sent Sir Nath. Rich's letter for your son, which I hope is sufficient. I hope he will sufficiently inform himself of the dimensions of the Fort and all things about it, as, likewise, of what several materials, what kind of earth or wood the several parts are framed of. It is likely he may enquire of some thereabouts, labourers, or artificers or artists, that helped to make it. Let him take special notice of the thickness of the walls, where the ordnance is laid forth, and how long our ordnance had need to be in that regard, and send what speedy word may be with conveniency.

Even when he had penned that lengthy postscript, Johnson had not finished his martial news. There was another important matter on which Winthrop's advice was urgently needed. Hence this second postscript:

For that we are advised by some to have all our ordnance 8 foot and a half from the base hoop to the muzzle, others and the most to have none under 9 foot to be so measured, in regard that otherwise they will be in danger to throw down the walls of the Fort. But here's the

[13] Sir Nathaniel Rich, although not directly associated with the Massachusetts Company, was keenly interested in American colonization. At the date of Johnson's letter he was Member of Parliament for Harwich, and would have influence with the commander of the fort there.

difficulty, here are some, I think enough, of 8 foot and of 8 foot and a half upon the Tower Hill, but those of 9 will hardly or not at all be got for the first voyage, so that we are at a great loss; for some think better carry but a few now and that are fit and reserve the others for the last ships, than to carry unserviceable ones; and others think better to carry our number, for the fear and noise of them may do us good; and they may hereafter serve for some use. Thus you see how hardly I was drawn on this side of my paper, and yet how prolix I am. Pray send us your opinion of this, for it much stumbles us.[14]

Winthrop's opinion on the matter which "much stumbled" Johnson and his friends in London, is not on record; but there was a fortunate issue to the efforts to secure a plan of the Harwich fort. John Winthrop, Jr., armed with Sir Nathaniel Rich's letter, accomplished his mission with complete success; and then proceeded to the family home at Groton to elaborate the details he had procured. As his father had returned to London, he made his report by letter. "I was last week at Colchester," he wrote, "with Mr. Heath, the King's workman, who made the fort at Langer [Landguard][15] point. I have now a perfect plot thereof, with the dimensions of the whole and parts. I will have it ready against you come down."[16]

But all those elaborate preparations for warfare do not disclose the full story. One piece of pertinent evidence would never have come to light had it not been for the singular action of the General Court in demanding from Winthrop in 1634 an account of money he had

[14] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VI, 30-32.

[15] Landguard Point was developed as a place of coastal defence in the reign of James I, and is still notable for its fort.

[16] Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, I, 368.

received and expended. After setting forth particulars which must have shamed any who entertained the least suspicion of his probity, he, in the spirit of the Apostle Paul—"I am become a fool in glorying; ye have compelled me"—revealed this secret: "I also disbursed, at our coming away, in England, for powder and great shot, £216, which I did not put into my bill of charges." [17]

In view of all the foregoing evidence, how can there be any doubt that, in their secret councils, Winthrop and his friends made their preparations for New England with a view to the establishment there of a commonwealth separate from and wholly independent of their native land?

But why? What reasons prompted the Puritans to contemplate the probability of rebellion? Was there any justification for such prospective treason?

An answer is furnished by the history of England in 1629. But the root explanations were of older growth. Calvinism—and the Puritans were resolute Calvinists—was ripening to its logical harvest. Among the innumerable manuscripts which were collected by Elizabeth's great minister, Lord Burghley, is an abstract of the principal points of a book which was published in 1589 by that League—"Sainte Union"—which the high Catholics founded for the defence of their Church against the attacks of the supporters of the Reformation. The title of the book is not given, but the notes among Lord Burghley's papers characterize the volume as "libellous," "virulent" and "most impious"; and the abstracts of its arguments prove that the League could command the pen of an astute publicist. He declared that this was the

[17] Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, I, 131.

teaching of Protestantism: "By nature and reason, religion and practice of nations, Kings are officers made by and for the commonwealth, and not for themselves; and may also be admonished, chastised, and deposed by the commonwealth if they be tyrants or heretics."[18] And the writer asserted that Protestants had overthrown commonwealths where they had prevailed.

Now, in extenuation of the policy which they eventually adopted, it must be remembered that the Puritans were goaded into rebellion. If the Church of England could have been purified of everything that, to them, savoured of Catholic rites and superstitions and doctrines, they would gladly have remained within her fold. When they realized, however, that the vestments and ceremonies they abominated were to be retained and enforced, when they saw a new priestly hierarchy being developed, and when royal absolutism entered upon its determined assault on constitutional liberties, was it not inevitable that they should desire to found in another land a commonwealth more consonant with their deepest convictions? On the eve of that memorable day when the officers of Charles I knocked so loudly and persistently on the doors of the House of Commons to summon the people's representatives to the ceremony of dissolution, the dauntless Sir John Eliot gave eloquent expression to the Puritans' justification: "There is a ceremony used in the Eastern Churches, of standing at the repetition of the Creed, to testify their purpose to maintain it, not only with their bodies upright, but with their swords drawn. Give me leave to call that a custom very commendable."[19]

[18] MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury, XIII, 424.
[19] John Forster, *Sir John Eliot*, II, 417.

But who was to wield the sword?

Seeing that Winthrop and his associates had given such careful attention to the provision of formidable stores of munitions of war, that they had accumulated ordnance and shot and gunpowder and arms on a prodigious scale, that they had entered into costly contracts with experts in fortification and artillery, that they had employed all their influence to procure plans of the latest types of defensive works, it follows that they must have given serious consideration to the selection of the man upon whose military experience and capability the efficient use of those martial preparations depended. Where was such a man to be found?

It has been seen that no fewer than twelve members of the Honourable Artillery Company of London were closely associated with the Puritan promoters of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and that two of them—Captain Henry Waller and Captain John Venn—were of high rank in that regiment.[20] The latter, indeed, was so efficient in military ability that he became a prominent officer in the Cromwellian army. No doubt he and his comrades of the Honourable Artillery Company were carefully questioned as to whether they could suggest an officer

[20] It is a tradition of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company of Boston that Captain John Underhill joined the parent organization in London in 1614, and the "Ancient Vellum Book" of that regiment does record the name of John Underhill under the date of Sept. 27, 1614. But it is questionable whether that John Underhill was identical with Captain John Underhill of New England. The secretary and historian of the London Company, Major G. Goold Walker, M.C., is of the opinion that only those who were freemen of one of the City Companies were received as members, and that that qualification implied that the candidates were at least twenty-one years of age. Indeed, so far as identification of age at the time of joining can be established, it would appear that John Milton, who enlisted in his 27th year, established a minimum record. In 1614, Captain John Underhill could not have been older than seventeen; and there is the further probability that in that year he was residing with his mother in the Netherlands.

capable of directing the martial affairs of the Massachusetts Company. It is probable, indeed, that the post was offered to Captain John Venn, for Governor Hutchinson asserted that "he was in the design from the beginning, and intended to have removed."[21] He, however, was destined to abide in the old country, to sign his name to the death warrant of Charles I, and to escape the regicides' fate by dying before the Restoration.

Although, as the sequel proved, it was not found possible to discover among the members of the Honourable Artillery Company a soldier capable of fulfilling the requirements of the Massachusetts Company, there were non-military members of the latter who may have been instrumental in solving the problem.

During those crucial months of 1629, when Winthrop and his colleagues were maturing their plans and perfecting their arrangements for the founding of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, a successful phase of the Thirty Years' War was being enacted in the Netherlands. Early in the year, Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, decided to make a resolute effort to capture Bois-le-Duc from the Spaniards; and he naturally summoned to his aid the brilliant English soldier, Lord Vere, who had already participated in so many gallant compaigns in the Low Countries.

The commanders met at The Hague, where the wife of the English general, Lady Mary Vere, was in residence. Lady Vere's sympathies were with the Puritans; Clarendon recorded that her religious views were "of a Dutch complexion"; and she was in constant correspondence with at least one active member of the Massachusetts Com-

[21] Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, I, 18.

pany, namely, the Rev. John Davenport.[22] At that time the destined founder of New Haven was minister of one of the London churches, and the minutes of the Massachusetts Company show that he was constant in attendance at the meetings which decided upon the transference of the government and Charter to New England. He was thus an intimate link between Winthrop and his colleagues and Lady Vere at The Hague, and may well have asked his correspondent whether her husband could recommend a soldier of the type needed for the Massachusetts adventure. At that period, it should be remembered, Captain John Underhill was a cadet in the guard of the Prince of Orange, and doubtless bore a gallant part in the capture of Bois-le-Duc. Hence it is not improbable that he may have owed his selection by Winthrop to the recommendation of Lady Vere. There were also other possible links between the Massachusetts Company and the English soldiers in the Netherlands, for Hugh Peters, for one, had removed thither ere the year ended.

Whoever had the distinction of advising the selection of Captain John Underhill, he is the most pertinent proof of the fact that "the captains who gave their help in founding the American colonies were indebted to the training supplied by campaigns in the Low Countries."[23] That indebtedness was fully divined and adequately acknowledged by the Rev. Thomas Prince when, in 1736, he was requested to edit John Mason's *A Brief History of the Pequot Wars.* It is true that in his introduction Prince was guilty of an unpardonable omission in that he

[22] British Museum: Add. MSS. 4275, ff. 158, 160, 162, 164, 166. This correspondence was discovered by Worthington C. Ford, and was published by him in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XLII, 207-215.

[23] C. R. Markham, *The Fighting Veres,* 458.

made no mention of the services of Captain John Underhill. The explanation is probably twofold: Prince was under the spell of that adulation of the founders which bequeathed to a later age the duty of establishing many reputations; and he was unacquainted with those narratives of the Pequot war which were written by Underhill, Gardiner and Vincent. Justice demands that the names of Underhill and Gardiner be read into the following passage from Prince:

> In my Contemplations of the Divine Providence towards the People of New-England, I have often tho't what a special Favour it was, that there came over with the first Settlers of Plimouth and Connecticut Colonies, which in those Times were especially exposed to the superiour Power of the Barbarians round about them; Two brave Englishmen bred to arms in the Dutch Netherlands, viz. Capt. Miles Standish of Plimouth, and Capt. John Mason of Connecticut: Gentleman of tried Valour, Military Skill and Conduct, great Activity, and warm Zeal for that noble Cause of Pure Scriptural Religion, and Religious Liberty, which were the chief original Design and Interest of the Fathers of these Plantations; and who were acted with such eminent Degrees of Faith and Piety, as excited them to the most daring Enterprizes in the Cause of God and of his People, and went a great way to their wonderful Successes.[24]

Whatever was true of the soldiers Prince remembered, was emphatically true of the one he forgot. That John Underhill was "bred to arms in the Dutch Netherlands" is established by unquestionable evidence; that he was of "tried valour, military skill and conduct" has been unreservedly admitted by contemporary and later historians.

[24] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd Series, VIII, 120-121.

Even when he was to lose favour with Winthrop, the first Governor of Massachusetts never cast the least reflection on his ability as a soldier or had cause to regret that he was chosen to train the colonists in military discipline and prowess.

When, at length, in the springtide of 1630, all preparations were completed, and the Puritan Armada was on the eve of sailing, the great adventure received the parting benediction of John Cotton, who travelled specially from Boston to Southampton to preach the farewell sermon. With that singular felicity which the Puritan divines so often displayed in selecting their texts for special occasions, he made choice of the apposite promise in II Samuel VII:10: "Moreover I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more." And the final advice of the preacher would seem to indicate that he was in the secret of the elaborate military equipment of the Massachusetts Company:

"Neglect not walls, and bulwarks, and fortifications for your own defence; but ever let the name of the Lord be your strong tower."

Both exhortations were in harmony with the plans and purposes of the Puritans. They anticipated the axiom of Cromwell: "Put your trust in God; but mind to keep your powder dry!" And in a corner of Boston Common may be seen to this day a parable of their dual policy. For in the shadow of the red brick walls and tapering spire of a Christian Church there stands a tablet which records that the adjacent land, in the early days of the planting of Massachusetts, was set aside as a "trayning field." On that Common the muster days were held—

days set apart for the thorough drilling in arms and warlike exercises of the Puritan settlers.

And the man who rendered greater service than any other in the militant training of the Massachusetts colonists was Captain John Underhill.

CHAPTER V

EARLY DAYS IN MASSACHUSETTS

WHEN and from what port John Underhill left old England, by which vessel he made the voyage, and where and at what date he landed on the shores of New England, are problems unsolved, and probably insoluble. On the 26th of February, 1630, he was in the Netherlands: prior to August 27, 1630, he was in New England. Precise details of his movements during the intervening months are wholly lacking, but it is generally conceded that he came in one of the ships accompanying the *Arbella* (or perhaps in it) which brought John Winthrop and which left England in April, 1630. Only a partial list of the passengers has been preserved.

More fortunate than the Pilgrims, the Puritans landed in genial summer weather; but even so the problem of providing accommodation for some seven or eight hundred people must have been sufficiently formidable. The Rev. Francis Higginson, who deserves a distinctive place among the press-agents of early Massachusetts, did deviate into sober fact when he warned prospective settlers to equip themselves thoroughly before they left home: "For once you are parted from England, you shall meet neither with taverns, nor ale-house, nor butchers', nor grocers', nor apothecaries' shops to help what things you need."[1] On the housing problem, too, he was equally

[1] *Chronicles of the First Planters of Massachusetts Bay*, 263. Higginson was, in 1629, so dithyrambic in his eulogies of the healthy life of New England that there was tragic irony in his dying a year after his arrival.

frank, pointing out that "no man hath or can have a house built for him here unless he comes himself, or else sends servants before to do it for him."[2] It is a singular fact that this matter is so scantily alluded to by the English historians of the early days of Massachusetts; though Thomas Dudley, in his invaluable Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, did explain that the alarming mortality of the first year was partly due to "the want of warm lodging."[3]

But the best account of how the earliest settlers dealt with the housing problem is from a Dutch pen, namely, that of Cornelis van Tienhoven, provincial secretary of New Netherland. As he gave a detailed description of the methods adopted in New England, his authority might be deemed suspect until it is remembered that he became closely associated with John Underhill when the latter removed to the Dutch colony. Indeed, when he wrote so informingly of the devices favoured in New England, it is hardly an exaggeration to conclude that he was retailing the knowledge of his friend Underhill.

Those in New England [he narrated] who have no means to build farmhouses at first according to their wishes, dig a square pit in the ground, cellar fashion, six or seven feet deep, as long and as broad as they think proper, case the earth inside all round the wall with timber, which they line with the bark of trees or something else to prevent the caving in of the earth, floor this cellar with plank and wainscot it overhead for a ceiling, raise a roof of spars clear up and cover the spars with bark or green sods, so that they can live dry and warm in these houses with their entire families for two, three and four years, it being understood that partitions are run through these cellars which are adapted to the size of the family.

[2] *Ibid.*, 262.
[3] *Ibid.*, 325.

The wealthy and principal men in New England, in the beginning of the colonies, commenced their first dwelling-houses in this fashion for two reasons: first, in order not to waste time building and not to want food the next season; secondly, in order not to discourage poorer labouring people whom they brought over in numbers from the Fatherland.[4]

When the Court of Assistants met for the first time on American soil in "the great House" at Charlestown on the 23rd of August, 1630, the religious aspect of the Puritans' policy was duly emphasized by the fact that the initial business transacted made provision for the housing and maintenance of two ministers; and at the second meeting, on the 7th of September, the militant phase of their undertaking was equally asserted by the resolution which read:

It is ordered, that Mr. Patrick and Mr. Underhill shall have allowed them, for half a year's provision, 2 hogsheads of meal, 4 bushels of malt, 10lb of powder, and lead to make shot; also houseroom provided for them, and £15.12 in money to make other provisions. All this to be done at the public charge, their year to begin from the time they begin to keep house.[5]

With that entry in the old minutes should be coupled another decision made three weeks later: "It is ordered, that Mr. Patrick and Mr. Underhill shall have allowed them £6.8 in money, to buy them household stuff; and for help to wash, brew, and bake 20s."[6]

As Daniel Patrick had been, in Winthrop's words, "a common soldier" in Holland, it is probable he owed his

[4] *Documentary History of New York*, IV, 25-36.
[5] Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, I, 75.
[6] *Ibid.*, 76.

employment to Underhill's recommendation. The two had this in common also, that the wife of each was Dutch. In personal attractions, Mrs. Patrick seems to have had the advantage, for while Winthrop's reference to Helena Underhill was merely to the effect that she was "a Dutch woman," the Governor, who appears to have had an eye appreciative of female charms, described Patrick's partner as "a good Dutch woman and comely."[7] While Underhill was one of the earliest members of the First Church in Boston, his name being the fifty-seventh on the original roll, it was not until the December of 1633 that the names of Helena Underhill and Margery Hindes, "our brother John Underhill's maidservant," were added to the register. However, as the first John Underhill, Jr., was born April 12, 1631, it is certain that his mother accompanied Captain John to these shores, as the latter was here on August 27, 1630, when he joined the First Church and did not return to England until several years later. The delay in her admittance to membership in the church was undoubtedly due to the fact that she lacked knowledge of the English language and was in all probability a member in good standing of the Dutch church in Holland.

Meanwhile John Underhill was fully occupied. It was no light task to superintend the military organization of the new colony, even though, as the truculent Edward Johnson declared, the Puritans were "resolved to stand it out" and were "very forward to feats of war."[8] With

[7] *Winthrop's Journal*, ed. J. K. Hosmer, II, 153.

[8] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd Series, VII, 52, 53. In view of the bellicose utterances of that hyper-Puritan, it is amusing to remember that the only military service he appears to have undertaken was when he was one of a band of "40 persons well-appointed with weapons of war" which was sent to arrest Gorton and his few followers!

the exception of two favoured classes, the magistrates and the ministers, all males of the community were held liable to bear arms and undergo a stipulated period of training. The Puritans were sturdy advocates of conscription; they would have had scant patience with any doctrine of "conscientious objection." There was no mistaking, for example, the terms of such an edict as this: "It is ordered, that every town within this patent shall, before the 5th of April next, take especial care that every person within their town, (except magistrates and ministers) as well servants as others, furnished with good and sufficient arms allowable by the captain or other officers, those that want and are of ability to buy themselves, others that are unable to have them provided by the town."[9]

Equally peremptory were the orders as to regular periods of training. At first the companies were to be drilled every Saturday; later, when some measure of efficiency had been achieved, longer intervals were allowed. But at that stage of progress the local trainings were supplemented by general exercises. Hence the resolution of the July of 1631, which incidentally illustrates how Underhill had been entrusted with the complete command of the citizen soldiers:

It is further ordered, that every first Thursday in every month there shall be a general training of Captain Underhill's company at Boston and Roxbury, and every first Friday in every month there shall be a general training of the remainder of those who inhabit at Charlestown, Mystic, and the Newtown, at a convenient place about the Indian wigwams, the training to begin at one of the clock in the afternoon.[10]

[9] Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, I, 84.
[10] *Ibid.*, 90.

All who absented themselves from training, or failed to supply themselves with arms, were ruthlessly fined, or committed to a species of slavery. There was no favouritism in the imposition of fines. Matthew Cradock, it will be remembered, had been the Governor of the Company in London, and was one of the most generous supporters of the colony; yet, though he was in far-off London, he was fined four pounds because his men had been "absent from training divers times."[11] And, the more sternly to enforce the order for the arming of "every person" in each settlement, it was enacted that any man not provided with "sufficient arms" by a specified date "shall be compelled to serve by the year with any master that will retain him for such wages as the Court shall think meet to appoint."[12]

While, by collating the scattered entries in the Records of the colony, it is possible to obtain a fairly comprehensive conception of Underhill's military methods, those official minutes unfortunately do not provide data for a picture of the Puritan soldiers in training. Even the garrulous Edward Johnson failed to supply the omission. But a later writer, John Dunton, the vivacious London bookseller who visited Boston in the hope of collecting five hundred pounds' worth of debts, and discovered that "he that trades with the inhabitants of Boston should be well furnished with a Grecian faith; he may get promises enough, but their payments come late," filled in the blank to a limited extent. In the midst of some entertaining sketches of prominent Bostonians, he made an abrupt change of subject.

[11] *Ibid.*, 102.
[12] *Ibid.*, 93.

I must [he apologised] make a transition to arms. It is their custom here for all that can bear arms, to go out on a training day; but I thought a pike was best for a young soldier, and so I carried a pike. And between you and I, reader, there was another reason for it too, and that was, I knew not how to shoot off a musket, but 'twas the first time I ever was in arms. Being come to the field, the captain called us all into our close order, in order to go to prayer, and then he prayed himself. And when our exercise was done, the captain likewise concluded with prayer. I have read that Gustavus Adolphus, the warlike king of Sweden, would before the beginning of a battle kneel down devoutly, at the head of his army, and pray to God, the giver of victory, to give them success against their enemies, which commonly was the event; and that he was as careful to return thanks to God for the victory. But solemn prayer in the field upon a day of training, I never knew but in New England, where it seems it is a common custom. About three of the clock, both our exercises and prayers being over, we had a very noble dinner, to which all the clergy were invited.[13]

Judging from diaries and other records of the period, it is safe to conclude that the ministers did not fail to respond to the invitation or to do justice to that "very noble dinner." The gospel and the sword were still in close alliance. It is to be regretted, however, that John Dunton made no reference to the colours used on that training-day, for his visit to Boston coincided with Judge Sewell's perplexity as to whether, if he became a party to "put the Cross in the Colours," he would not endanger his "Entrance to the Holy Land."[14] As Dunton was a mere bird of passage, he was probably ignorant of the esoteric military problems of those days.

[13] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd Series, II, 107.
[14] *Ibid.*, 5th Series, V, 147.

That Underhill did his utmost to sustain the honour of the profession of arms, and was a rigid disciplinarian, is demonstrated by his own words. From the earliest days, owing, no doubt, to John Endicott's aggressive spirit and uncompromising individualism, the Salem community claimed to be a law unto itself. But when that independence and disregard of use and wont infringed on military tradition, Underhill could not resist making an emphatic protest. Hence his indignant petition to the Governor and Assistants:

I am sorry that there is so just occasion of offence given in this Patent, by them of Salem, not only unto us, which are inferior unto the Governor and Assistants, but also unto the whole Court, and the Authority that belongs unto you, in that they have appropriated unto themselves, without order, that which properly belongs unto you, as may appear by the relation of this petition. To let you understand the circumstance of the offence; it is this. How they have of their own appointment made them a Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign, and after such a manner as never was heard of in any school of war, nor in no Kingdom under heaven. The Company standing together, as they were ordered, the Constable comes up to the Company, taking the authority of the magistrate upon him, delivers the partisan to Mr. Turner, and tells him that he is chosen Lieutenant to this Company, and so bids God give him joy. Mr. Turner, understanding himself better than he that brought it, would not accept of the place, without order of Court. We may think it strange that there should be such officers made in the Patent, without order, either from the Governor or from the Court; entreating the Court to take it into their wise considerations: for my part, if there should not be a reformation in this disordered practise, I would not acknowledge such officers. If officers should be of no

better esteem than for constable to place them, and martial discipline to proceed disorderly, I would rather lay down my command than to shame so noble a Prince, from whom we came. Thus entreating the Court that they would both satisfy themselves and us in righting this cause, I rest,

Yours at command in the Lord,
CAPTAIN UNDERHILL.[15]

Save that it might have been hazardous to introduce humour into his petition to the Governor and Assistants, how forcibly Underhill, drawing upon the pages of the First Folio, could have adorned his indictment of the Salem constable by a few allusions to an earlier Dogberry. For Shakespeare's officious representative of the Salem type also revelled in self-glorification: "I am a wise fellow; and, which is more, an officer; and, which is more, a householder; and one that knows the law, go to." The Salem worthy appears to have possessed the necessary qualification of being "the most senseless and fit man" for the constable's post.

Apart from his experience in the efficient military school of the Netherlands, Underhill had ample personal knowledge of the authority and ceremony which pertained to the appointment of Captains and Ensigns and Sergeants in New England.

Even as he held his commission direct from the Governor and Assistants, so the subordinate officers who were allotted to him from time to time, whether they were described by the fluent noun of "Ancient" or "Ensign" or "Lieutenant," or were of the lower rank of Sergeant or Corporal, were duly appointed by Court decisions. The one exception to that rule was in the case of the

[15] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 175-176.

Lieutenant Dudley, who accompanied him when he went to arrest Sir Christopher Gardiner; but as that officer makes no further appearance in the Records, it is probable that he owed his brief military employment to his having been Thomas Dudley's son.

Underhill's other Lieutenants were distinctive personages in the Boston community. The first of these, Richard Morris, recently proven to have been the stepfather of Captain John Underhill (*Underhill Genealogy,* Vol. I, page 14, etc.) was described by the judicial James Savage as "a person of some consequence in the colony." Taking the oath as a freeman on the same day as Underhill, he was appointed his Ensign in the March of 1633. Some eight months later, however, there is an entry in the Records which states that he had been "discharged" from his office. But that word was an error on the part of the writer of the minutes; he should have written "resigned." For, as Winthrop is careful to record, Morris' demission was voluntary. He had "taken some distaste of his office"; but, as he was "a very stout man and an experienced soldier," and as such men were too valuable to be spared from military duty, he was persuaded to overcome his "distaste" and withdraw his resignation. The fact that he was once more attached to Underhill as his Lieutenant is conclusive proof that his relations with his Captain were entirely harmonious.[16] Indeed, Underhill and Morris had more than their soldierly preferences in common; subsequent events were to prove that they were akin in political and religious convictions. Prior to the unhappy days of division and turmoil, Un-

[16] *Winthrop's Journal,* ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 121-122; Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, I, 103, 110, 112.

derhill's Second Lieutenant served the colony faithfully in various offices, as a member of a committee on fortifications, as the leader of the trained band at Roxbury, as commander of the fort on Castle Island, and as a deputy to the General Court for two successive years.

Edward Gibbons, Underhill's Third Lieutenant, makes a singularly variegated progress through the early annals of Massachusetts. His first appearance on the Records did not hold much promise that he might become a useful member of the community, for the entry was to the effect that he was to be fined twenty shillings for participating in a drunken carousal on board the *Friendship* in the Bay.[17] It would seem that he had one or two subsequent lapses of some kind; but from the time he became Underhill's subordinate officer his career was eminently respectable. Too practical a man to concern himself with the theological hair-splitting of those days, he avoided any complication with the "heresies" which were so fatal to others; and in due time he was awarded three hundred acres "in regard of old and long service." Even when he and Underhill drifted apart into opposite religious camps, their friendship was unaffected.

In addition to Ensigns or Lieutenants, Underhill's staff was supplemented in the May of 1634 by three Sergeants and a Corporal—a distinction not conferred on any other Captain of the early years. The three Sergeants were: Robert Harding, William Balstone, and Ralph Spragge;

[17] Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, I, 90. It lends a piquant interest to this episode to learn from Governor Bradford's History that the liquor which Gibbons and his companions consumed on that occasion was the property of the Pilgrims of Plymouth. Of the two hogsheads of mead, containing about 120 gallons, only six gallons reached the consignees! The "leackage," as Bradford characterized it, was truly on a Gargantuan scale, and explained why Gibbons and his fellow Bacchanals "abused themselves disorderly."

and the Corporal was John Oliver. In various ways, these four were active members of the community, and make frequent appearances in the Records. Their respect for and confidence in their Captain may be inferred from the fact that they all followed his lead in signing the famous petition in favour of John Wheelwright, Spragge being the only one who eventually succumbed to official pressure and recanted. The other three, like Richard Morris, were faithful to the end.

Within eight months after he had landed on American soil, Underhill had been brought into official relations with two picturesque characters: Thomas Morton and Sir Christopher Gardiner.[18] The first of these was happily characterized by Charles Francis Adams as "born a sportsman, bred a lawyer, ingrained a humorist and an adventurer"; the effect the other makes on the student of early Massachusetts history was, by the same gifted writer, felicitously described as "somewhat as if one were suddenly to come across the portrait of a Cavalier by Vandyck in the vestibule of a New England village church." Morton and Gardiner, indeed, might have stepped out of the pages of Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán d'Alfarache,* and it is probable they derived some hints of their conduct from the picaresque literature of the seventeenth century.

Although the abrupt and stern references to Morton in the Records do not mention Underhill's services in connection with his arrest at Merry Mount, there can be no question that he and none other was deputed to carry out the order of the Court that "Morton, of Mount

[18] Charles Francis Adams narrated once for all the varied exploits and mishaps of those worthies in several chapters of his delightful *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History,* and in the inimitable paper he contributed to the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XX, 60-88.

Woolison, should presently be sent for by process." Some years earlier, Miles Standish had made somewhat of a pother, and a muddle, in securing that same Lord of Misrule; but that Underhill dispatched the business with promptitude and efficiency was clear from the fact that two weeks after the order was given the culprit was standing in the Court to receive his sentence of the stocks, confiscation of goods, destruction of his home, and banishment from the colony.

No uncertainty of any kind can be urged in connection with Underhill's services in relation to Sir Christopher Gardiner. Not that any hazards were involved. Such risks as had to be faced were undertaken by the Indians who effected the arrest.

Having purged the colony of Thomas Morton, the Bay magistrates had full confidence in their ability to administer short shrift to Sir Christopher. Hence the resolution of the Court to the effect that he should be "sent as prisoner into England by the ship *Lion,* now returning thither." [19] Such was the edict of the 1st of March, 1631. A brave beginning, which, however, had a tame ending. The knight's name never appeared on the Records again. And the *Lion,* sailing on the appropriate date of All Fools' Day, did not include Gardiner among its passengers.

Longfellow's graceful pen [20] adorned the incidents of this strange tale of early New England, but distorted many of the facts out of recognition. Excusing such picturesque anachronisms and violation of nature's seasons as capping Sir Christopher with a "Prince Rupert hat"

[19] Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, I, 83.
[20] *Tales of a Wayside Inn,* "The Rhyme of Sir Christopher."

and making "sweet alyssum and columbine" bloom in the March days of New England, the poet may be commended for his correctness in indicating that the knight's offences in Puritan eyes were that he was a Papist and that he was harbouring

> A little lady with golden hair,
> Whom he called his cousin, but whom he had wed
> In the Italian manner, as men said,
> And great was the scandal everywhere.

But the poet's finest flight of imagination was in depicting Underhill and his companions as riding to Gardiner's arrest on their "gallant steeds." On which feat Charles Francis Adams made the sly comment: "As there was no road to Neponset at that time, and as all we know of the arrest is that the officers attempting it went by water, it would thus seem that they must have been a detachment of Governor Winthrop's Horse-marines."

Unfortunately, the chief offender, Gardiner himself, had somehow received warning, and had fled into the woods. And there he wandered until some Indians reported his whereabouts to the Plymouth authorities, and, on their instructions, captured him and led him to Bradford. It was at that phase of the episode Winthrop made his record to the effect that it was from Plymouth he was "brought by Capt. Underhill and his Lieut. Dudley, May 4, to Boston." [21] For once, however, the usually astute magistrates of the Bay were at a loss to know how to deal with a captive, eventually treating Gardiner as an officer on parole, and doubtless entrusting Underhill with such oversight as was deemed necessary.

But there were ceremonial occasions when Underhill,

[21] *Winthrop's Journal*, ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 63.

with his stalwart figure and with his soldierly pride in his "bravery and neatness," was a favourite companion of Winthrop. In his youthful days the Governor must have listened to many narratives of the stately progresses of Queen Elizabeth, and perhaps have witnessed some of those peregrinations by which her less regal successor attempted to carry on those traditions; and as there was much to be urged in favour of a ruler making the personal acquaintance of the lands and lieges of his domain, Winthrop may excusably have concluded that the example was worthy of imitation. Hence the progresses made by the Governor in 1631 and 1632 to various districts of Massachusetts, and the inter-State visit which he paid to the Plymouth plantation in the fall of the latter year.

One of the earliest of those journeys was thus recorded by Winthrop: "The Governor, with Capt. Underhill and others of the officers, went on foot to Saugus [Lynn], and next day to Salem, where they were bountifully entertained by Capt. Endicott, etc., and the 28th, they returned to Boston by the ford at Saugus River, and so over to Mistick."[22] Then followed, in the January and February of 1632, exploring expeditions by the Charles River, Medford, etc., and there can be no question but that Underhill was of the party. He certainly accompanied Winthrop on his official visit to Governor Bradford at Plymouth, for the Governor expressly included "the two captains" in his retinue.

Underhill, indeed, was ever on the alert to distinguish with military ceremonial any of the special occasions in which the Governor was concerned. A unique opportunity occurred on that November day of 1631 when Mar-

[22] *Ibid.*, 69.

garet Winthrop, the gracious consort of the leader of the colony, landed at Boston. Underhill and his colleague had their fully armed companies drawn up on the shore, received the gentle voyager with "divers vollies of shot, and three drakes," [23] and escorted her to her new home.

Than Underhill, no one was more jealous that Winthrop should be paid the honour due not alone to his office but also to his noble character. On the occasion when his re-election took place at a time of heated party feelings and divisions, the Sergeants who were wont to attend the Governor with halberds, laid down their weapons and refused to accompany him to his home. Although Underhill's sympathies were wholly with the party whose nominee had been defeated at the election, he was indignant at the slight to which Winthrop had been subjected. Hence his outspoken protest to the Court.

I desire [he wrote] to give one touch withal concerning your forgetfulness of the Governor in not upholding him, and supplying him with a watch, which may tend to the preservation of his life and all our good, besides his further encouragement. The course which you might take in this case may be this, without any great difficulty, to send a couple from Charlestown, a couple from Roxbury and Boston, to make up the complete number. I think I am in conscience bound to enforce this upon the Court, seeing it tends to his preservation and further encouragement, his life being more precious to us than many others, therefore the care of it to be preferred before so little labour and trouble, as such a business imports. Such was the care of the children of Israel towards their Governor, that they esteemed his life worth ten thousand of the common people; secondly, the prac-

[23] *Ibid.*, 70.

tise of other countries commends this course unto us, who are so provident in such cases, for the upholding of their government with peace and safety. I desire to put you in mind of these things, lest we smart for our security, not knowing what time may bring forth; and thirdly, we may take an example from our neighbours of Plymouth, that are not negligent in these affairs: and so I leave these things to your consideration, desiring to be excused in any thing that you may except against, and entreating the Lord that he would direct all your hearts in all things for the best, and prosper what shall be undertaken for His glory, and the good of this people.[24]

Such honours as the colonists had at their disposal, were not withheld from their Captain. Thus Underhill was elected a deputy to the General Court of the May of 1634; and in the September of the same year he was a selectman of Boston. The earliest existing page of the records of the Town Meeting minutes narrates the business of that September session. It is in the handwriting of Winthrop, who, after setting down his own name and then that of William Coddington, gave the next place to "Capt. Underhill."

But even in the early years, Underhill had more than ceremonial and General Court and Town Meeting duties to occupy him. Alarms of probable attacks by the Indians were not infrequent. In the late August of 1632 it was confidently reported that at Muddy River (Brookline), only a few miles westward, a large Indian force had encamped, comprising ten chieftains and innumerable warriors. Historians of that delectable region—the amenities of which were quickly discovered and appreciated by the early settlers—have stated that remains

[24] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 176.

of the fort of this encampment were discerned on a knoll so late as the mid-nineteenth century;[25] but it is doubtful whether the identification was correct. When Underhill, with a modest force of twenty musketeers, proceeded to reconnoitre this formidable enemy, he was halted at Roxbury by the news that the ten sagamores and their followers had departed.[26] Had the Indians on that occasion constructed so substantial a fort that vestiges were to survive for two centuries, they would surely have put up some sort of a fight against Underhill and his little band.

Although the Muddy River encampment dispersed, there were other signs of Indian hostility which caused Winthrop considerable anxiety. Reports reached him from various sources as to a settler being murdered in his sleep, as to "divers insolent speeches," and as to a formidable conspiracy to destroy the colonists for their "victuals and other substance." On discussing these portents with Underhill, decision was taken to establish a camp at Boston, that the trained men might be ready for any emergency. It was in connection with that mobilization that Underhill adopted a ruse the effects of which amply justified his stratagem. Winthrop's record gives a vivid picture of the sequel: "Capt. Underhill (to try how they would behave themselves) caused an alarm to be given upon the quarters, which discovered the weakness of our people, who, like men amazed, knew not how to behave themselves, so as the officers could not draw them into any order. All the rest of the plantations took the alarm and answered it; but it caused much fear and distraction among the commoner sort, so as some, which knew of it

[25] H. F. Woods, *Historical Sketches of Brookline*, 10.
[26] *Winthrop's Journal*, ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 90.

before, yet through fear had forgotten, and believed the Indians had been upon us. We doubled our guards, and kept watch each day and night."[27] That Underhill's artifice had disclosed laxity on the part of some of the colonists is obvious from the severe fines, one amounting to three pounds, which were imposed by the Assistants for refusals to watch, or lack of arms, or absence from training.[28]

Probable danger from the Indian tribes, however, was a trifling matter compared with the likelihood of attack by a far more powerful enemy. The former was serious enough. The colonists knew they were occupying a mere seaboard fringe of a vast territory; that behind them, stretching far back into unknown regions, were mysterious spaces where lurked unreckonable hordes of hostile aborigines. Yet they were more perturbed by thoughts of a presumptive foe with whose resources in war they were more familiar. The unknown was intimidating; the known was a more fearsome nightmare. With the simply-armed Indians who should descend upon their homes from the primeval forests, they might be able to cope; but what hope of victory had they against the disciplined forces which might assail them from the ocean? For it was not war, but civil war, which the Puritans apprehended in 1634; the foe would not be Indian, but English. By their elaborate martial preparations and stores of the munitions of war, the Puritans had made provision for such an eventuality; but the prospect of its realization was none the less perturbing.

So they decided to watch as well as pray. "It was

[27] *Ibid.*, 91-92.

[28] Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, I, 99, 102.

ordered"—thus declared the General Court of the May of 1634—"that there shall be a ward of two kept every day at the fort [29] at Boston, during the time of any ships riding there, to be borne by the public and to be ordered by Capt. Underhill; and it is agreed that those plantations that (by reason of their remoteness) are unwilling to send men, shall pay 2s. a day for a man, to such as Capt. Underhill shall hire, when it comes to their turn." [30] As Underhill was a deputy to the General Court which authorized that decision, it is natural to conclude that the proposal was suggested by him. That was the Court, too, which conferred the unusual distinction of increasing his staff by allowing him three Sergeants and a Corporal.

During more than a year from the date of that Court, the official Records are replete with evidences of anxiety and war-like preparations. And the entries which, over the same period, Winthrop was making in his private Journal, heighten the picture of the time of stress which the settlers experienced. A Marcellus might have asked:

> Why this same strict and most observant watch
> So nightly toils the subject of the land?
> And why such daily cast of brazen cannon,
> And foreign mart for implements of war?

For the origins of the trouble, the Puritans had only themselves to blame. In the first flush of their freedom and novel experience of authority, they had handled affairs in a haughty manner. Endicott had established

[29] "Fort Hill . . . was situated at the easterly part of the town, on the promontory that projected easterly between the Great Cove at its north and the South Cove at its south. . . . On its northerly and easterly sides it presented rugged bluffs, difficult of ascent, and consequently affording good defences for the town, which early were made available." Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, *A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston*, 162-163.

[30] Records of the Governor and Çompany of the Massachusetts Bay, I, 120.

an unwise precedent. As Matthew Cradock wrote to him and the two ministers at Salem, the best advised might "overshoot themselves." That appears to have been the case in the ruthless repression and banishment of John and Samuel Browne, whose offence was that they persisted in using the Prayer-Book of that communion of which Winthrop and his associates declared that they esteemed it "an honour to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother." [31]

Though John and Samuel Browne were among the earliest, they were not the most influential of those expelled persons, who, on reaching England, became zealous propagandists against the "lord-brethren" of New England. And there was one in old England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was the focus and exploiter of any grievances which might be charged against the Puritans. He was, indeed, to use a comparison which should have occurred to those devotees of Old Testament precedent, a veritable captain of that cave Adullam which attracted "every one that was discontented." For Gorges was the rival of the Massachusetts Company, and welcomed every opportunity to undermine its credit with the English authorities. To him such men as Thomas Morton and Sir Christopher Gardiner, and others with more serious complaints, naturally resorted; and he used every scrap of their evidence to the utmost advantage.

Winthrop's Journal and the colony Records disclose part of the sequel; but the complete aftermath can be realized only by piecing together various scattered items of circumstantial evidence. And, as will be seen, Underhill was an important agent in perfecting the plans which

[31] Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, II, 11.

Winthrop and the magistrates devised for the purpose of meeting the danger with which the commonwealth was threatened.

Ominous tidings came in a flood in the July of 1634. One of the arrivals was John Humphrey, an early member of the Massachusetts Company, and he narrated with what difficulty the ship in which he sailed had been cleared from the English port, and how Matthew Cradock had received orders to surrender the Charter. A few days later there arrived a letter from Cradock himself, enclosing a copy of the order of the Council requiring the Massachusetts authorities to send back the Charter. And then one of the settlers brought to Winthrop a letter he had received from Thomas Morton "wherein he related, how he had obtained his long suit, and that a commission was granted for a General Governor to be sent over, with many railing speeches and threats against this plantation." [32] The expulsions of Morton and others, deftly utilized by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, were evidently ripening to an untoward harvest.

Naturally, all these omens had their reaction. Castle Island, an invaluable vantage point for the defence of Boston, was carefully inspected, and decision taken as to its fortification. At this crisis, the people of Newtown, who were anxious to remove to Connecticut, were reminded that the Bay settlement was "weak and in danger to be assailed," and that if the Newtown folk removed they would be in "peril from our own state at home." [33] With the community in so anxious a mood, the General Court had no difficulty in securing authority for a levy of £600 "towards fortifications."

[32] *Winthrop's Journal*, ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 130. [33] *Ibid.*, 133.

Happily, the military stores of the plantation were generously augmented during those anxious months. John Humphrey "brought more ordnance, muskets, and powder";[34] and when the *Griffin* arrived on the 18th of September, she proved to be a veritable arsenal. Thanks to the careful William Pynchon, the treasurer of the colony in those days, a detailed inventory of the martial stores of the *Griffin* was placed on record. The cannon included four demi-culverins and eight sakers, pieces of four-inch and three-and-a-half-inch bore respectively; the other items were a hundred muskets and calivers and carbines; eighty-one swords; two hundred and fifty rounds of shot for the cannon; four hundred pounds of bar shot; one hundred pounds of match, etc.[35] Nor did that inventory exhaust the explosive freight of the *Griffin:* one of the passengers was Mistress Anne Hutchinson.

A belligerent atmosphere, too, pervaded the lengthy debates which took place in the General Court in the early September of 1634. A council of war was appointed with "power to consult, direct, and give command for the managing and ordering of any war that may befall us"; overseers of ammunition were elected; orders were issued for the equable distribution of all arms; and authority was conferred for the pressing of men and carts. As to the erection of a defence on Fort Hill, it was "further ordered, that warrants shall be sent to the constable of every plantation, to send in money or workmen to make that which they have already done, three days apiece towards the fort at Boston, both of new-

[34] *Ibid.*, 127.
[35] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd Series, VII, 228.

comers and others for every hand able to work (except magistrates and ministers) that are behind, to be delivered to Captain Underhill, before the next Court of Assistants." And Underhill's is the first name of a committee of seven which was appointed to select suitable places for fortifications not only on Castle Island but also at Charlestown and Dorchester.[36]

But Winthrop and the council of war were not content with the preparations detailed above. Large powers had been conferred upon them; and they used them in a manner of which there is not the least evidence in the official minutes. Nor does Winthrop's Journal throw any direct light on the omission. There was a moment, it would seem, when the Governor was on the point of disclosing the policy of the council of war: after a gloomy survey of the many dangers which menaced the young commonwealth, and remarking that the crisis had caused the magistrates and deputies to "discover their minds to each other," he started to write that all that "grew to this conclusion."[37] But there he stayed his pen, and left the great secret unrevealed.

What was the policy which Winthrop persuaded the council of war to adopt? In brief, to send an important commission to England, the members of which should be competent to influence opinion in three directions: political, religious, and military. The political member of the commission was the Governor's gifted son, John Winthrop, Jnr.; the religious, the Rev. John Wilson, minister of the First Church; and the military, John Underhill, deputy of the General Court and the chief

[36] Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, I, 123, 124, 125.

[37] *Winthrop's Journal*, ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 135.

Captain of the trained bands. As a rule, Winthrop, in writing his Journal, was apt to be most communicative as to the arrival or departure of the leading personages of the community; but that Journal has no reference to the sailing of the younger Winthrop and Wilson and Underhill. Nor is there any entry in the Records stating that either of them "had leave" to visit England. Both sources of early Boston history maintain a singular but explicable secrecy as to the commission of the winter of 1634.

Two of the commissioners, the younger Winthrop and Wilson, sailed on the 2nd of November; Underhill followed on a day between the 6th and 13th of the same month.[38] Four days after his son had departed, Winthrop wrote a letter addressed to him in London; and that letter, and a second dated the 12th of December, provide some of the hints which throw light on the scheme of the council of war.

In the first of those letters, dated the 6th of November, the Governor wrote: "I intend to send this letter by Capt. Underhill, who hath leave to go see his friends in Holland. If he come to you, he can inform you of all things here."

Now, there is not the least evidence that Underhill went to Holland; nor does it seem possible that the period of his absence would have allowed time for such an extension of his journey. What is obvious from internal and other evidence is, that Winthrop's letter was so written that in the event of it falling into the hands

[38] These facts and dates are established by scattered allusions in *Winthrop's Journal* and by supplementary statements made by Winthrop in the two letters to his son which James Savage printed in his carefully annotated edition of the Journal: I, 462, 463.

of any of the enemies of New England, no hint could be gained therefrom as to the errand of the commissioners. The letter was purposely cryptic; it was a cipher document without a cipher. For example, Wilson is referred to as "our most dear Mr. Warner," or as "Mr. W.," and he is advised to "keep himself close by all means, and make haste back." And in this connection it is significant that early in the following year the Boston church kept a day of humiliation "for the absence of their pastor and other brethren, gone to England, and like to be troubled and detained there." [39] Further, among the letters addressed to the younger Winthrop while he was in London was one from his uncle Emanuel Downing which contained this warning: "This day my brother Kirby came to me to tell me that Mr. Atwood the leather seller was with him, to give him notice that you should walk warily and close because there be some that lay wait to attach you." [40] It is clear, then, that the younger Winthrop and Wilson were under the necessity of conducting their mission with profound secrecy.

But to return to Underhill. While it was the duty of his colleagues to use their influence on political and religious opinion, his was the more concrete task of strengthening the martial resources of the colony. In beginning his second letter to his son, Winthrop remarked: "I wrote to you by Capt. Underhill, who went hence in Mr. Babb's ship." [41] Various passages of that

[39] *Winthrop's Journal,* ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 145.

[40] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VI, 42.

[41] James Savage's edition of *Winthrop's Journal,* I, 463. The erudite President of the Massachusetts Historical Society contributed to the work cited several interesting notes relating to the sturdy master mariners who rendered such valuable service in conveying passengers and supplies to New England; but he strangely ignored the captain of the ship in which Underhill sailed on this occasion. Yet Thomas Babb appears to have been worthy of honourable mention. He was out

letter show that Winthrop's anxiety was unabated. He instructed his son what ship-masters to write by "if there be any matter of importance"; and urged him to "make haste back."

When Underhill reached England, he must have imagined that the New England weather had accompanied him. The winter of 1634-5 was so unusually severe that Londoners had the rare experience of seeing the Thames frozen over, a visitation which, however, may have been to Underhill's advantage in allowing him to walk across the ice to Southwark on his visits to Robert Houghton, the King's brewer, who lived there. Other incidents of his visit were not so auspicious. Laud had been Archbishop of Canterbury for more than a year, and on all sides were evidences that he was living up to his motto of "Thorough" in his policy to enforce semi-Catholic ceremonies and in his dealings with and repression of the Puritans. Underhill must have heard of the example of Samuel Ward of Ipswich, who was charged with being "one of the breeders" of those companies of the disaffected who were looking toward New England as a haven. Difficulties in leaving England were being created for such persons by the sinister suggestion that a man on the verge of bankruptcy "may fly to New England, and be accounted a religious man for leaving the kingdom because he cannot endure the ceremonies of the Church."

Underhill, however, as the military member of the

of pocket over the passage of one Barbara Rolfe, whom he carried at her father's request, but whose "loose behaviour" saddled him with the expense of transporting her elsewhere; and, later, one Edward Trelawney, of New England, refused to pay for the two hundred pounds' worth of goods which Babb bought at his request. *Colonial Papers, 1574-1660,* 173, 261.

commission, must have been more concerned with the current reports of intense activity in the shipyards, of the feverish haste with which vessels were being overhauled, and of the preparations which were in hand for sending a great naval armament on some unknown expedition. It was stated, too, that the King had an ambition to build a ship of unusual dimensions. In view of the strained relations between the authorities and the magistrates of Massachusetts, those portents were of a disturbing character.

But there were other conditions from which Underhill must have derived encouragement. Enquiries as to life in the Massachusetts colony were rife. Even from far-off Scotland, letters were coming to London asking for details of the success of the New England plantation, as many young men of "rare gifts" were anxious to escape from "the persecutions of the prelates." Moreover, the imposition of the Ship Money tax, that unconstitutional device by which the King was attempting to replenish his exchequer, was already evoking the first mutterings of that storm which was to overwhelm Throne and Crown.

Best of all, Underhill was successful in his efforts to augment the warlike stores of the colony. Among the men with whom he had many conferences in London were Robert Keayne and Robert Houghton. The former was a trusted confidential agent of the Massachusetts Company. A member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, Keayne, at the time of Underhill's visit, had been on the muster-roll of the Honourable Artillery Company for a decade, and he appears to have had business relations with armourers and other purveyors of military

equipment. Indeed, it is clear from William Pynchon's accounts,[42] that the formidable supplies of munitions which reached Boston in the July of 1634 had been ordered and shipped by him, for Pynchon cited some particulars of that consignment on the authority of "so Mr. Keayne writes." It is also evident that Underhill made some similar arrangements with him, for, on his return to Boston, the General Court authorized the payment of a sum of money involved in their transactions.[43]

While Robert Keayne was to become prominent in early New England history, Robert Houghton is a shadowy figure on the roll of the colony's benefactors. When Underhill met him, he was a brewer, even the King's brewer, and living at Southwark; but, as changes in occupation were not uncommon in the seventeenth century, he was probably the Robert Houghton, who, described as a fishmonger, had, with a brother, acquired, in 1629, a twenty-one years' lease of "the Bridghouse brewhouse."[44] Southwark was a profitable locality for a brewer. An old map of the district is plethoric with inns. Which is not surprising, for the main thoroughfare was the only highway leading to London's one bridge over the Thames. For the same reason, butchers must have been prosperous too, an explanation of the considerable fortune which John Harvard inherited from his father, Robert Harvard, a Southwark butcher. It is hardly fanciful to postulate a friendship between the Houghton and Harvard families, and that Harvard's

[42] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd Series, VIII, 229-30.

[43] Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, I, 158.

[44] London Guildhall Records: Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, 43, f. 295.

had been made "upon the motion of Captain Underhill."[45]

At what date did Underhill reach Boston again? It is impossible to give a precise answer to that question. The probability is that he arrived during the May of 1635, for the baptismal records of the First Church in Boston contain this entry: "The 14th day of the 12 or last month 1635 [i.e. February 14th, 1636] Elizabeth the daughter of our brother John Underhill." But, as no age is given, the child may have been born during her father's absence, and her baptism not delayed until his return.

So, in the absence of other evidence, recourse must be had to the testimony of the official Records. There is proof that the younger Winthrop and Wilson did not reach Boston until the 8th of October; but Underhill, for whose presence there was greater need, arrived at least a month earlier, for in the minutes of the General Court of the 3rd of September is this entry: "It is ordered, that Capt. Underhill shall have power to send his warrants to the constables of the several plantations, to send in money or work, for three days, or so much as is behind, for the fort at Boston, for every man (except magistrates, and officers of churches, and schoolmasters) that were dwellers here before the third of September, 1634, and that the constables shall return their warrants into the next particular Court after they receive them, at their peril, provided that those towns be required to their work first, that are most behind, according to a former order."[46] And further, at the same Court it was agreed to lend certain pieces of ordnance and other arms

[45] *Winthrop's Journal*, ed. James Savage, II, 418, 422.
[46] Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, I, 158.

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to several of the plantations, and Underhill and another were deputed to see that the decision was carried into effect.[47]

It would seem that during Underhill's absence, progress with the defence works on Fort Hill had been lethargic. And, doubtless as the result of the fuller knowledge he had gained in England, a few months after his return the original plans for that work were substantially augmented. Hence the important Town Meeting of January 23rd, 1636, which decided upon the "raising of a new work of fortification upon the Fort Hill, about that which is there already begun"; and the oversight of this was entrusted to a committee in which Underhill was associated with the Deputy Governor, the two Winthrops, and Henry Vane. The work was to be started "so soon as weather will permit in regard that the engineer, Mr. Lion Gardiner, who doth so freely offer his help thereunto hath but a short time of stay."[48]

That Town Meeting resolution adds two new names to the list of those with whom Underhill was connected during the early years of the colony: Henry Vane, and Lion Gardiner. With the latter, he was soon to be closely related in warfare as stern and dangerous as any in which they had participated as comrades in the Netherlands. And Henry Vane, the young patrician to whom the settlers gave so effusive a welcome, was to influence Underhill's convictions in a manner which enrolled him among the martyrs of tolerance and democracy.

Ere, too, the new year of 1636 was many days old, Underhill was entrusted with a commission in which he

[47] *Ibid.*, 160.
[48] Boston Records, 1634-1660, 8.

was probably glad to fail. There had already been several clashes of opinion between the rigid Theocrats of the Bay and the more liberal spirit of the destined founder of Rhode Island; but the final crisis had come. The Governor and Assistants decided to "send him into England by a ship then ready to depart"; and a warrant was despatched commanding him to come to Boston "to be shipped." Roger Williams declined to be "shipped": he ignored the warrant. "Whereupon," Winthrop recorded, "a pinnace was sent with commission to Capt. Underhill, to apprehend him, and carry him aboard the ship (which rode at Natascutt); but, when they came at his house, they found he had been gone three days before; but whither they could not learn." [49]

When he set out so suddenly on his midwinter journey, Roger Williams himself had little knowledge of his destination. He was to be "sorely tossed for some fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bed or bread did mean." [50] But he had entered upon an adventure which was to have an important bearing on Underhill's career as a soldier and a fruition in the realm of thought which harmonized with his deepest convictions as a man.

One other name has to be added to the roll of those with whom Underhill's sympathies were most in accord: John Wheelwright. It was on a June day of 1636 that this minister, who afterwards was to be held in high esteem by Oliver Cromwell, landed at Boston; and several weeks later he joined that First Church of which Underhill was already a member. Thus the two must have

[49] *Winthrop's Journal*, ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 168.
[50] S. G. Arnold, *History of the State of Rhode Island*, I, 39.

become early acquainted with each other. And now was complete the little company of those with whom Underhill was to be so intimately associated in a gallant fight against obscurantist bigotry.

But ere the lists were set for that bitter religious conflict, Underhill was to prove his supreme value to the colony as a dauntless leader in secular warfare.

CHAPTER VI

THE PEQUOT CAMPAIGN

PENDING his departure from Boston to Saybrook, to assume command of the fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River, Lion Gardiner, Underhill's comrade in the Netherlands, was kept busily employed by the Massachusetts authorities. The expert services of a man who had been master of works on the fortifications of the Prince of Orange were too valuable not to be exploited to the utmost. So in addition to associating him with Underhill in connection with the defences of Fort Hill in Boston, the magistrates persuaded him to visit Salem and give them his opinion as to what fortifications should be erected there. On returning, he delivered this verdict:

"Nature has done more than half the work already; and I think no potent foreign enemy will do you any hurt, *but one that is near.*" [1]

Gardiner was more of a prophet than he intended. When he used those words, *"but one that is near,"* he had in mind quite a different circumstance than that which eventuated. He was thinking of hunger: what happened was warfare of a kind wholly different from that which the colonists were dreading. Gardiner tried to convince the settlers that their wisest policy would be to assure their food supplies. Winthrop and the council of war

[1] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III, 138.

were obsessed by anticipations of an attack from England. The real danger, that which was *"near,"* was the imminence of an assault by the aborigines.

For the war-cloud from across the Atlantic was to evaporate. Neither then, nor on several subsequent ominous occasions, had the colonists any real reason to apprehend armed interference by their fellow countrymen. Massachusetts was extraordinarily fortunate. That sacred cod fish which is displayed in the Representatives' Hall of the State House is not an appropriate emblem: it should be replaced by a horse-shoe or some other symbol of good luck. For during those vital decades when the foundations of the settlement were being laid, it invariably happened that a crisis between New and Old England was always coincident with a more serious crisis in the affairs of the home-land. Neither the King nor his Archbishop was ever so free from internal distractions as to be able to deal with external problems. Laud, as Charles Francis Adams clearly recognized, was powerless out of England; and "King Charles never had any money to spare to furnish forth expeditions against his stubborn subjects of the Massachusetts Bay." [2]

But conflict was imminent all the same. As Roger Williams phrased it, "the Lord drew the bow of the Pequot war against the country."

Of all the Indian tribes which hovered threateningly on the borders of the various plantations, none occasioned so much anxiety as the Pequots. Contemporary evidence is unanimous in crediting them with qualities which made them a dangerous foe. Thomas Shepard described them as "the stoutest, proudest, and most successful in their

[2] *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, I, 293.

wars of all the Indians"; to Nathaniel Morton they were "a stout and warlike people . . . puffed up with many victories"; and Samuel Niles reported that they were "a fierce and powerful nation, that had, by their conquests and cruelties, struck a terror to all the nations of Indians round about."[3] Equally emphatic, and more to the point, was the testimony borne by two men who wrote from personal experience: John Higginson, the young chaplain, and Lion Gardiner, the commander of that Saybrook fort which was situated in the Pequot territory. Writing from within the beleaguered fort, Higginson dwelt upon the Pequots' "experience of warlike affairs (being men of war from their youth)," upon their "agility in arms," upon their strategy in providing places of retreat and their policy in forming alliance with other tribes, and upon their "malice" and "cruelty" and "insolence."[4] And Gardiner, with recent memories of warfare against the highly trained and courageous soldiers of Spain, did not hesitate to credit the Pequots with greater valour than that of his European foes.[5]

Two assassinations were the immediate cause of the Pequot war. One, the murder of Captain John Stone, was committed in the January of 1634; the other, the butchery of John Oldham, was perpetrated in the July of 1636. It is probable that the Massachusetts magistrates would have overlooked the former had it not formed a convenient precedent to strengthen their demands in connection with the latter. For Stone appears to have been a lawless person, much addicted to copious drinking,

[3] *Chronicles of the First Planters of Massachusetts Bay*, 548; *New England's Memorial*, 125; Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, VI, 157.
[4] *Ibid.*, 4th Series, VII, 396.
[5] *Ibid.*, VI, 164.

and of such a quarrelsome disposition that he may easily have given the Indians provocation for their assault. Oldham's career as a colonist had been chequered and not free from blame; but he had settled down to an orderly life and was devoting his undoubted energy and business gifts to lucrative trading with the Indians.

As Oldham's fatal voyage stretched "the bow of the Pequot war," and as the narrative of its dramatic climax was imparted to Winthrop by the man who discovered the tragedy, the original description may be cited in full.

John Gallop [6] [Winthrop wrote in his Journal], with one man more, and two little boys, coming from Connecticut in a bark of twenty tons, intending to put in at Long Island to trade, and being at the mouth of the harbour, were forced, by a sudden change of the wind, to bear up for Block Island or Fisher's Island, lying before Narragansett, where they espied a small pinnace, which, drawing near unto, they found to be Mr. Oldham's (an old planter, and a member of Watertown congregation, who had been long out a trading, having with him only two English boys, and two Indians of Narragansett). So they hailed him, but had no answer; and the deck was full of Indians (fourteen in all) and a canoe was gone from her full of Indians and goods. Whereupon they suspected they had killed John Oldham, and the rather, because the Indians let slip and set up sail, being two miles from shore, and the wind and tide being off the shore of the island, whereby they drove towards the main at Narragansett. Whereupon they went ahead of them, and having but two pieces and two pistols, and nothing but duck shot, they bear up near the Indians (who stood ready armed with guns, pikes, and swords), and let fly among them, and so

[6] John Gallop was one of the early settlers, and is believed to have been the first of Boston's professional pilots. Though he had a house and wharf-right on the mainland, he farmed the island which still bears his name. The "two little boys" of Winthrop's narrative were his sons.

galled them as they gate under hatches. Then they stood off again, and returning with a good gale, they stemmed her upon the quarter and almost overset her, which so frightened the Indians, as six of them leaped overboard and were drowned. Yet they durst not board her, but stood off again, and fitted their anchor, so as, stemming her the second time, they bored her bow through with their anchor, and so sticking fast to her, they made divers shot through her (being but inch board); and so raked her fore and aft, as they must needs kill or hurt some of the Indians; but, seeing none of them come forth, they gate loose from her and stood off again. Then four or five more of the Indians leaped into the sea, and were likewise drowned. So there being now but four left in her, they boarded her; whereupon one Indian came up and yielded; him they bound and put into hold. Then another yielded, whom they bound. But John Gallop, being well acquainted with their skill to untie themselves, if two of them be together, and having no place to keep them asunder, he threw him bound into the sea; and, looking about, they found John Oldham under an old seine, stark naked, his head cleft to the brains, and his hands and legs cut as if they had been cutting them off, and yet warm. So they put him into the sea; but could not get to the other two Indians, who were in a little room underneath, with their swords. So they took the goods away which were left, and the sails, etc., and towed the boat away; but night coming on, and the wind rising, they were forced to turn her off, and the wind carried her to the Narragansett shore.[7]

As the Indians of Block Island were supposed to be subject to the rule of the chief sachems of the Narragansetts, namely, Canonicus and his nephew Miantonomo, the Bay authorities intimated that they expected those rulers to avenge Oldham's death; and, on their disclaim-

[7] *Winthrop's Journal,* ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 183-184.

ing any implication in the murder, and expressing their willingness to assist in the capture and punishment of the murderers, it was unanimously decided by the Governor and council and magistrates and ministers that an effort to do "justice upon the Indians" should be "attempted with expedition." As the new Governor, Henry Vane, has been charged with the haste of that decision, due to his "youth and inexperience," and has consequently been saddled with the sole responsibility of the issue of the expedition, it is pertinent to note that Winthrop explicitly recorded the unanimity with which the enterprise was authorized.

But Vane and his associates made one serious mistake. Instead of entrusting the command of the expeditionary force to a professional soldier such as Underhill, they gave that office to such an amateur as John Endicott. There can be little doubt as to Endicott's courage, moral or physical. He it was who cut the Cross out of the Salem colours; and he was ever prone to pose as a muscular Christian. But as a general and a negotiator he was so pronounced a failure that he was given no part in the serious phase of the Pequot war.

With him in command of the hundred or so soldiers who were dispatched on the Block Island expedition towards the end of the August of 1636, were Underhill and three other officers. Their commission gave them power to kill all the men, to secure all the women and children as captives, and to take possession of the island; and they were then to proceed to the Pequot country and demand Stone's assassins and a heavy indemnity.

Underhill's narrative of the Block Island expedition is our only primary authority for that campaign. Winthrop

wrote from hearsay; and, for once, his slavish plagiarist, the Rev. William Hubbard, refrained from any theft from his original. Mason dismissed the subject in a sentence; Gardiner wrote only of the episode at Saybrook; Vincent ignored it. And such secondary authorities as Johnson and Niles add nothing to our knowledge. Underhill, of course, wrote with the authority of a participant, and his account is detailed and spirited. It contains, too, a passage which gives us one of our two glimpses of his Dutch wife, in connection with which he set forth his views on matrimonial relations. As the shallop in which he and a dozen men made for the island to effect a landing, some sixty Indians suddenly made their appearance and greeted their assailants with a dense shower of arrows.

> Myself [Underhill wrote] received an arrow through my coat sleeve, a second against my helmet on the forehead; so as if God in his providence had not moved the heart of my wife to persuade me to carry it along with me (which I was unwilling to do), I had been slain. Give me leave to observe two things from hence; first, when the hour of death is not yet come, you see God useth weak means to keep his purpose unviolated; secondly, let no man despise advice and counsel of his wife, though she be a woman. It were strange to nature to think a man should be bound to fulfil the humour of a woman, what arms he should carry; but you see God will have it so, that a woman should overcome a man. What with Delilah's flattery, and with her mournful tears, they must and will have their desire, when the hand of God goes along in the matter; and this is to accomplish his own will. Therefore let the clamour be quenched I daily hear in my ears, that New England men usurp over their wives, and keep them in servile subjection. The country is wronged in this matter, as in many things else. Let this

precedent satisfy the doubtful, for that comes from the example of a rude soldier. If they be so courteous to their wives, as to take their advice in warlike matters, how much more kind is the tender, affectionate husband to honour his wife as the weaker vessel? Yet mistake not. I say not that they are bound to call their wives in council, though they are bound to take their private advice (so far as they see that it make for their advantage and good); instance Abraham.[8]

Sailing from Boston in three pinnaces with two shallops on the 25th of August, the expedition reached Block Island on the last day of the month. On coming to anchor, the only sign of life on the island was "an Indian walking by the shore in a desolate manner, as though he had received intelligence of our coming." Some of Underhill's comrades concluded that the bulk of the people had deserted the island; but he, with a keener appreciation of their strategy, suspected that they were lying in ambush behind a high bank near the shore. And as he and his companions began rowing toward the island in one of the shallops, his surmise was justified, for suddenly some sixty warriors rose from behind the bank, and let fly that shower of arrows which prompted the reflections quoted above. As the strength of the wind and the shallowness of the water made it dangerous to attempt to run ashore, Underhill and his comrades promptly prepared to wade to land; and, on their bringing their muskets into play, the Indians, "finding our bullets to outreach their arrows," hastily fled. The other landing party had a similar experience. But soon the little force was in possession of the foreshore, where camp was pitched and sentinels posted.

[8] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, VI, 5-6.

Neither the next day, nor the following, did the Indians appear in any force. They fled into the interior of the island, abandoning their wigwams and great stores of corn. The only attempt to follow them was made by Underhill and apparently suggested by him. It was a daring reconnaissance, which he described in these simple terms: "About midnight myself went out with ten men about two miles from our quarter, and discovered the most eminent plantation they had in the island, where was much corn, many wigwams, and great heaps of mats; but fearing lest we should make an alarm by setting fire on them, we left them as we found them, and peaceably departed to our quarter; and the next morning with forty men marched up to the same plantation, burnt their houses, cut down their corn, destroyed some of their dogs instead of men, which they left in their wigwams." [9]

Underhill was keen in observing and generous in recording the exploits of his comrades. It did not escape his notice that one of the young men in his landing-party was shot in the neck by an arrow, which entered his flesh deeply though it had been protected by a collar which was as stiff as "an oaken board." He told, too, how Endicott and his party effected their landing against opposition; how Captain Turner repelled single-handed a little band of Indians who surprised him while reconnoitring; and how a friendly Indian who accompanied the expedition made such excellent marksmanship against one of the enemy that "without question he was the death of him."

But Underhill was silent as to Endicott's generalship. And little wonder. His commission instructed him to

[9] *Ibid.*, 7.

"put to death the men of Block Island"; but, according to his report to Winthrop, "they could not tell what men they killed." He was also empowered to take captive all the women and children and bring them away; but he did not secure a single woman or child. And as for taking "possession of the island," his effective occupation of a portion of the soil lasted some forty-eight hours. There was no excuse for Endicott's failure as a commander. The island was small, being, Winthrop said, about ten miles long by four broad; his force of about a hundred men, armoured and well-equipped with muskets, outnumbered the Indians; there was no lack of bravery in officers or men; and, as was proved by the large quantities burnt, food supplies were ample for several weeks' campaign. Even Edward Johnson, whose pen usually flowed torrentially with laudatory adjectives over the deeds of the orthodox magistrates, characterized Endicott's Block Island expedition as "a bootless voyage." [10] It is clear, too, that it was regarded with amusement by the Narragansetts; for when those Indians confided to Roger Williams some hints for another campaign, they suggested that nothing would be achieved by "two or three days and away." [11] If, however, Underhill refrained from any criticism of his commanding officer, he may have intended that his remark as to the Indians "playing least in sight" should be interpreted as an excuse for his leaving the Island so soon.

From Block Island, the expedition sailed across the sound to that Saybrook Fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River of which Lion Gardiner had the com-

[10] *Wonder-Working Providence,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd Series, IV, 44.
[11] *Letters of Roger Williams,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, I, 160.

mand in the interests of those noblemen, Lords Saye and Brooke, after whom it had been named. As adverse weather detained the little armada for four days, there was ample time to discuss the campaign with Gardiner. Without doubt, he must have been pleased to see Underhill again, a trained soldier comrade of Netherlands war; but he made no secret of his annoyance with Endicott's errand or his apprehension of the results. Saybrook was in the Pequot territory, and that he had little confidence in Endicott's ability to force those Indians to surrender Stone's murderers and pay a large indemnity, is obvious from the picturesque protest which he made to the Massachusetts commander:

"You come here," he ejaculated, "to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wing and flee away." [12]

Despite Gardiner's "great grief" that the expedition had selected his fort for "rendezvous or seat of war," and notwithstanding his amazement at Endicott's commission, he was too much of a soldier to refuse such reinforcement as he could furnish. But there was a subtle irony in his manner of doing it—wasted on Endicott, who had no sense of humour. Having little anticipation that the avengers would load their pinnaces with Pequots, he suggested that, as those Indians had gathered and dried their harvest, they should fill their vessels with corn, "which will be welcome to Boston and me." And when Endicott objected that they had no sacks for such a purpose, the resourceful Gardiner offered to lend him some. He also contributed two vessels to the expedition, which was thus able to sail away five instead of three strong.

[12] Lion Gardiner, *Pequot Wars*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III, 140.

But reinforcements effected no improvement in Endicott's generalship. Setting his course along the Nyantic coast, his objective was the Pequot (Thames) River. The fleet was soon detected by the Indians, who, as Underhill recorded, ran in multitudes along the shore, exclaiming, "What cheer, Englishmen, what cheer! What do you come for? Are you angry? Do you come to fight?" Refraining from any answer, the expedition sailed on to the mouth of the river, where anchor was dropped for the night. But there was little repose for the invaders. The Indians lit fires on either side of the river, and "they made most doleful and worful cries all the night (so that we could scarce rest) hallooing one to the other, and giving word from place to place, to gather their forces together, fearing the English were come to war against them." [13]

Early the next morning, a Pequot, "a grave senior, a man of good understanding, grave and majestical in his expressions," boldly went aboard Endicott's pinnace and requested an explanation of his visit. He had been wisely chosen for such an errand, for when he was informed that the expedition had come to demand the surrender of Stone's murderers and the payment of a substantial indemnity, he rejoined with an ingenious exculpatory story in the best style of an accomplished diplomat. Endicott, however, derided all his excuses, demanded the heads of Stone's assassins, and threatened immediate war if they were not forthcoming. On that, the grave ambassador requested permission to go ashore that he might call a council. As soon as he departed, the force landed too,

[13] John Underhill, *News from America,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, VI, 7-8.

and was set "in battalia." Such evidence of determination convinced the ambassador that fresh tactics were necessary; and he proffered the excuse that the chief sachems, Sassacus and his colleague, were absent, and that nothing could be done until they returned. But when he was roundly told that the invaders knew the sachems were not far distant, and that they must come at once, he blandly promised to seek them, if the Englishmen would "stay a little while." In three hours, however, there was no sign of Sassacus and his fellow sachem; nor in six hours; nor in nine hours. The crafty Pequots had been manœuvring for time; and during those precious hours they had, as Gardiner recorded, "carried all their stuff away."

Underhill's impatience with the quiescence of these proceedings is manifest from his narrative. He quickly realized that the Pequots were "a witty and ingenious nation," that it was the object of the ambassador to "excuse the matter," that all along they "carried themselves very subtily," and that they, "standing remotely off, did laugh at us for our patience." [14] Even Winthrop had to admit the fiasco. "Some of our men," he wrote, "would have made a shot at them, but the general would not suffer them; but when they were gone out of musket shot, he marched after them. . . . But they all fled, and shot at our men from the thickets and rocks." [15]

Having allowed opportunity to vanish in parley and idle waiting, nothing remained for Endicott save to give orders for destruction. So in the closing hours of that day, and again on the morrow, wigwams were burnt, corn spoiled, and canoes demolished. And then the fleet sailed

[14] John Underhill, *News from America,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, VI, 8, 10.

[15] *Winthrop's Journal,* ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 188-189.

for the Bay. Gardiner's divination was fulfilled: so far from loading his pinnaces with Pequots, not a single Indian did Endicott take with him to grace his empty triumph. Truly, "a bootless voyage."

Yet Endicott did achieve something. He had raised the Pequot "wasps" about Gardiner's ears; and they were to buzz and sting around Saybrook Fort and the little towns on the Connecticut River for months to come.

And another result of that futile expedition was that, angered by the destruction of their wigwams and corn and canoes, the Pequots did their utmost to bring about such an alliance of the chief tribes as, had it been effected, would have resulted in the extermination of the Massachusetts colony. That they were astute diplomatists, they had proved at Endicott's expense; that they were not deficient in statecraft was demonstrated by the arguments they adduced in council with the Narragansetts and Mohegans in their efforts to persuade those Indians to join, ere it was too late, in a ruthless war against the English invaders. Sassacus earnestly pleaded with Canonicus and Miantonomo and Uncas to remember that right was on their side by their original possession of the land; that the settlers in Massachusetts had already reduced the eastern Indians to a state of vassalage; that the same fate, with loss of their territory, would inevitably befall them; and that only by united action could the catastrophe be averted.

News of these ominous discussions soon reached the magistrates of Massachusetts. And they keenly realized the serious danger involved therein. But how was it to be frustrated? There was one man, and one only, capable, by his knowledge of the Indian languages and by

the respect in which he was held by the tribes, of defeating the plot and arguments of the Pequots. That man was Roger Williams, whom Underhill had been commissioned to arrest that he might be "shipped" to England. It was fortunate for the Massachusetts colonists that Roger Williams, instead of having been "shipped" into banishment, was still on American soil. And, smothering their pride and their orthodoxy, it was to him the Bay authorities appealed for help.

Roger Williams instantly responded.

> The Lord helped me immediately [he wrote] to put my life into my hand, and, scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself all alone in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind with great seas, every minute in hazard of my life, to the Sachem's house. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequot ambassadors, whose hands and arms, methought, reeked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on Connecticut river, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also.

But "God wonderously preserved" the intrepid minister and helped him to "break to pieces the Pequots' negotiation and design." [16]

Winthrop recorded the sequel. He set down in his Journal how, shortly thereafter, Miantonomo and some twenty influential chiefs of the Narragansetts visited Boston and agreed to a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the English against the Pequots.[17]

So the Pequot "wasps" were left to buzz and sting

[16] *A Letter from Roger Williams to Major Mason,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st Series, I, 277.

[17] *Winthrop's Journal,* ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 192-193.

alone. Their native insolence encouraged them. They "insulted over them at the fort," and they "blasphemed the Lord, saying, Englishman's God was all one Fly, and that the Englishman was all one Squaw, and themselves all one Moor-hawks."[18] To Gardiner, they boasted: "We are Pequots, and have killed Englishmen, and can kill them as mosquitoes, and we will go to Connecticut and kill men, women and children."[19]

Lulled by the remembrance of their treaty with the Narragansetts, and safely distant from the Pequot territory, the Boston authorities, for some months, appear to have forgotten the danger which prompted their urgent appeal to Roger Williams. But Gardiner, at Saybrook Fort, and the people of the feeble new plantations at Wethersfield and Hartford and Windsor on the Connecticut River, were not so fortunate. They had not the opiate of an Antinomian controversy to deaden their minds to stern realities.

Indeed, Gardiner's narrative of life at Saybrook during the winter of 1636-7 was a chronicle of ruthless murder and fiendish torture. When he sent five men to gather the harvest for the fort, two were ambushed by the Pequots and tormented to death. Of a party surprised on an island, three were killed outright and a fourth captured and roasted alive. On going out with ten men to burn the undergrowth near the fort, Gardiner and two others were severely wounded and four shot dead. Attacks from the river banks were frequent, and many of the voyagers were slain. And, to increase his anxieties, Gardiner's supplies were so meagre that he could

[18] *Wonder-Working Providence,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd Series, IV, 45.
[19] Lion Gardiner, *Pequot Wars,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III, 145.

not refrain from a touch of satire in a letter to the younger Winthrop: "It seem we have neither masters nor owners, but are left like so many servants whose masters are willing to be quit of them. . . . Here is not five shillings of money and no beaver. . . . We have not so much as will pay for the mending of our old boat." [20] As that appeal did not produce any satisfactory result, Gardiner, in the March of 1637, deemed it necessary to indulge in plain speaking. "Thus hoping," he wrote to John Winthrop, Jr., "that you will be a means to stir up our friends in the Bay, out of their dead sleep of security, to think that your condition may be as ours is, unless some speedy course is taken, which must not be done by a few, but by a great company, for all the Indians have their eyes fixed upon us." [21] Perhaps it was with this letter Gardiner sent his grim reply to the pooh-poohing of some of the Bay people as to the danger of Pequot arrows. "They were of no force," they asserted. But when Gardiner went out to recover the body of one of his men, he found he had been killed by an arrow that had entered his right side, the head of which had penetrated half through a rib on the left side. "This," he commented, "I took out and cleaned it, and presumed to send to the Bay." [22]

In one particular, however, Gardiner was fortunate: he had in Saybrook Fort the sympathetic companionship of the capable and dauntless young chaplain, John Higginson. And Higginson did not choose or mince his words in writing to Winthrop. Their condition there, he reported, was "to have ten lusty men, out of so little

[20] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 53.
[21] *Ibid.*, 57.
[22] Lion Gardiner, *Pequot Wars*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III, 144.

a number as ours is, cruelly slain, others crying and roaring out through extremity of the pain of wounds, others gasping and dying, and breathing out their last, ourselves beleagured by the same bloodthirsty, and hemmed in by those who daily seek our lives." And then young Higginson, a youth in his twenty-first year only, ventured to tender to the elderly magistrates at the Bay this sane advice: "In all these respects and many more I desire it may be considered whether the serious and speedy prosecution of this war be not the greatest business New England hath, for it cannot be conceived that either building, planting, fishing, trading, colleges, etc., or in a word, if good of either Church or Commonweal can flourish and go forward, without a timely removing and preventing the wars that now begin; for these are but the beginnings of war, the progress hath been something sad, what the issue will be, the Lord he only knows." [23]

That plain speaking, the distressed settlers in the little towns on the Connecticut River would have endorsed with a fervent "Amen!" Some glimpses of their poignant anxiety by day and night are revealed in a letter written in those trying months by Roger Ludlow to William Pynchon, who, in farthest-off Agawam (Springfield), had evidently applied for help from his friends at Windsor.

For my part [Ludlow wrote], my spirit is ready many times to sink within me when upon alarms, which are daily, I think of your condition, that, if the case be never so dangerous, we can neither help you, nor you us. . . . Our plantations are so gleaned by the small fleet we sent out, that those that remain are not able to supply our watches, which are day and night, that our people are

[23] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 395, 397.

scarce able to stand upon their legs; and for planting we are in like condition with you. What we plant is before our doors, little anywhere else.[24]

At last, in the April of 1637, seven months after Endicott had stirred up the Pequot "wasps," the peril of the Connecticut townships, and the appeals of Higginson and Gardiner, and perhaps the arrow-pierced rib, moved the Bay magistrates to action.

"Captain Underhill," so Winthrop wrote in his Journal, "was sent to Saybrook, with twenty men, to keep the fort."[25] Gardiner completed the record with two or three vivid touches: the men were "lusty" and "well armed"; and the welcome contingent came "to stay with me two months, or 'till something should be done about the Pequots."[26]

So the comrades of Netherlands warfare were united again. And, as professional soldiers, it must have been a relief to Underhill and Gardiner that their plans of campaign could be devised and executed without the interference of inexperienced amateurs. When the tension of watching was relaxed and danger less imminent, their reminiscences of the Low Countries afforded them ample themes for talk; and Gardiner's Dutch wife—she was a Mary Wilemson, whom he had met and married at Woerden—would be eager to revive memories of her native land. Nor would Underhill, or the proud parents, be indifferent to the infant inmate of the garrison, the year-old David Gardiner, unconscious of his distinction of being the first white child born in Connecticut.

Gardiner had utilized the time so effectually that at

[24] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd Series, VIII, 235.
[25] *Winthrop's Journal,* ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 212.
[26] Lion Gardiner, *Pequot Wars,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III, 148.

the date of Underhill's arrival Saybrook Fort was a commodious residence as well as a sturdy place of defence. The Dutch traveller, David Piertersen de Vries, bore testimony to the "strong fort" Gardiner had constructed and to its commander's generous hospitality. The chief apartment was the "great hall" in which meals were served, and where also were displayed those martial orders which included a threat of hanging for any member of the garrison who gave way to cowardice. The environment of the fort moved Underhill to admiration. "The fort," he wrote, "lies upon a river called Connecticut, at the mouth of it, a place of very good soil, good meadow, divers sorts of good wood, timber, variety of fish of several kinds, fowl in abundance, geese, ducks, branks, teals, deer, roebuck, squirrels, which are as good as our English rabbits. Pity it is so famous a place should be so little regarded." [27]

But, in the main, Underhill and Gardiner had more serious matters to occupy their attention than soldiers' tales or admiration of the flora and fauna of Connecticut. Though they made no serious assault on the fort after Underhill's arrival, the Pequot "wasps" continued for a time to buzz around Saybrook. "We sometimes fell out," Underhill related, "with a matter of twenty soldiers, to see whether we could discover the enemy or no. They seeing us (lying in ambush) gave us leave to pass by them, considering we were too hot for them to meddle with us. Our men being completely armed, with corselets, muskets, bandoleers, rests, and swords (as they themselves related afterwards) did much daunt them." [28]

[27] John Underhill, *News from America,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, VI, 13.

[28] *Ibid.,* 12.

And there was a "pretty prank" concocted by the old soldiers which was not appreciated by the Pequots. Three great doors, ten feet long by three feet broad, were studded with carefully sharpened long nails.

These [Gardiner explained] we placed in certain places where they should come, fearing lest they should come in the night and fire our redoubt or battery, and all the place, for we had seen their footing, where they had been in the night, when they shot at our sentinels, but could not hit them for the boards; and in dry time and a dark night they came as they did before, and found the way a little too sharp for them; and as they skipped from one they trod upon another, and left the nails and doors dyed with their blood, which you know we saw the next morning, laughing at it.[29]

Too cautious to attack Underhill and his score of "lusty men" in the open, and dubious as to what more "pretty pranks" might be awaiting them in night attempts on the fort, the Pequots decided to try their fortune under less hazardous conditions. The nearest plantation up the river was that at Wethersfield, and that, being unfortified and with but a small population, provided a tempting opportunity. Although some two hundred strong, the attacking party of Pequots delayed their assault until the men were at work in the distant fields; and, with the little community thus dispersed, they were consequently able to achieve an easy victory, killing six men and three women.

But that was a Cadmean victory. For the Wethersfield massacre awoke the Connecticut and Massachusetts magistrates alike from their "dead sleep of security." The

[29] Lion Gardiner, *Pequot Wars,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III, 160.

promptest action was naturally taken at Hartford, where, on the 1st of May, a General Court authorized the raising of a force of some ninety men under the command of Captain John Mason. Although the resources of the new settlers were meagre, they did their utmost to equip the expedition with food and arms, calling upon the three towns to provide 180 bushels of corn to bake in biscuit, and allotting each soldier a pound of gunpowder, four pounds of shot, and twenty bullets. In those pre-Volstead days, too, the colonists evidently had faith in the stimulating virtues of honest liquor, for the General Court ordered that there should be "one hogshead of good beer for the captain and minister and sick men." The supply of "strong water" appears to have been low; so "two gallons of sack" were provided to mitigate the deficiency. Perhaps the inadequacy of "strong water" was the more regretted because Uncas, the sachem of the Mohegans, and seventy of his warriors, had volunteered to accompany the expedition, in the hope of avenging themselves on their Pequot oppressors.

Underhill and Gardiner were doubtful as to what reliance could be placed in the fidelity of Uncas and his followers; and even Mason's confidence was not robust. Hence the wisdom of the officers at Saybrook in deciding to test the matter as far as possible. Calling Uncas into council, Gardiner addressed him thus: "You say you will help Major Mason, but I will first see it; therefore send you now twenty men to the Bass river, for there went yesternight six Indians in a canoe thither; fetch them now dead or alive, and then shall you go with Major Mason, else not. So he sent his men who killed four, brought one a traitor to us alive, and one ran

away."[30] Mason and his men were still on their voyage down the river when this reassuring incident occurred; and as Underhill rowed up the stream to meet him, he was the first to impart the welcome news to the Connecticut commander. And the raid of Uncas also enabled Underhill to be the bearer of an answer to prayer.

Lying aboard the vessel with my boat [he related], the minister, one Master Stone, that was sent to instruct the company, was then in prayer solemnly before God, in the midst of the soldiers; and this passage worthy of observation I set down, because the providence of God might be taken notice of, and his name glorified, that is so ready for to honour his own ordinance. The hearts of all in general being much perplexed, fearing the infidelity of these Indians, having not heard what an exploit they had wrought, it pleased God to put into the heart of Master Stone this passage in prayer, while myself lay under the vessel and heard it, himself not knowing that God had sent him a messenger to tell him that his prayer was granted. "O Lord God, if it be thy blessed will, vouchsafe so much favour to thy poor distressed servants, as to manifest one pledge of thy love, that may confirm us of the fidelity of these Indians towards us, that now pretend friendship and service to us, that our hearts may be encouraged the more in this work of thine." Immediately myself stepping up, told him that God had answered his desire, and that I had brought him this news, that those Indians had brought in five Pequots' heads, one prisoner, and one wounded mortally; which did much encourage the hearts of all, and replenished them exceedingly, and gave them all occasion to rejoice and be thankful to God.[31]

[30] Lion Gardiner, *Pequot Wars,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III, 160.

[31] John Underhill, *News from America,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, VI, 16, 17.

With doubt as to the fidelity of their Indian allies greatly mitigated, if not removed, it might be imagined that hope and harmony would have prevailed in the councils of the commanders: Underhill, Gardiner, and Mason. But not so. For a time, there was dismay and disagreement. The cause was the nature of Mason's commission, and the means provided for its execution. Underhill and Gardiner were heartily agreed that the men with Mason "were not fitted for such a design," and they declared that none of the Saybrook men would be allowed to accompany the expedition "unless we, that were bred soldiers from our youth, could see some likelihood to do better than the Bay men with their strong commission last year." Mason's apology was to the effect that the Hartford magistrates "could not or would not send better." The real explanation, of course, was in the "could not." The three new townships on the Connecticut had so small a population that to have selected ninety men must have entailed a serious depletion of the male strength; and it was inevitable that in making up that number many were included who were too old or were physically unfit for Indian warfare.[32] Underhill and Gardiner, however, devised a solution of the problem. "At last," the latter recorded, "we old soldiers agreed about the way and act, and took twenty insufficient men from the eighty that came from Hartford and sent them up again in a shallop, and Captain Underhill with

[32] Mason, in his *History of the Pequot War* (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd Series, VIII) made no reference to this serious dispute. Naturally, he did not wish to cast any reflection, even though undeserved, on the Hartford magistrates. His narrative, most pious in its reflections, is deficient or misleading in some important matters. There are four contemporary accounts of the Pequot War—by Underhill, Gardiner, Vincent, and Mason—and the student of history who attempts to bring them into perfect unity will have as hopeless a task as the Biblical critic who should aspire to construct a harmony of the four Gospels.

twenty of the lustiest of our men went in their room." [33]

Meanwhile, by that inexplicable process by which news was diffused in pre-press and pre-telegraph days, some intimation of what was afoot had reached the Pequots; and their comments thereon came to the knowledge of Roger Williams. His letter on the subject is a curiosity in the annals of warfare. "The Pequots hear of your preparations," he wrote, "and comfort themselves in this, that a witch amongst them will sink the pinnaces, by diving under water and making holes." [34] Not content with that startling anticipation of submarine warfare, the Pequots were also confident of such complete victory over the English as would completely equip them with the white man's weapons.

Fleeting glimpses of Underhill are preserved in two letters of the time. In one, Edward Winslow, writing to Winthrop from Plymouth, reported: "Captain Underhill and the company at the fort in health"; [35] the other, dated at Providence on the 23rd of May, was from Underhill's colleague, Daniel Patrick, who had been dispatched from Boston with reinforcements for the Pequot campaign. He wrote: "Captain Underhill and Captain Mason, with eighty soldiers, in two pinnaces, are here in the bay [Narragansett], and one hundred Indians from the River at their disposal. As soon as I came, I dispatched an Indian to them, intending to piece in with them." [36]

But to return to Saybrook. Although the three "old soldiers" had solved the problem of strengthening the

[33] Lion Gardiner, *Pequot Wars,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III, 149.
[34] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VI, 188.
[35] *Ibid.,* 163.
[36] *Ibid.,* VII, 321.

Hartford contingent, there remained the even more vital question of the plan of campaign.

Mason's instructions were explicit—too explicit. They were set forth in detail in the commission handed to him at Hartford; they were repeated in a letter sent to him at Saybrook. The magistrates at Hartford evidently had unbounded confidence in their ability to plan a military campaign in an unknown territory against an enemy of whose strength and defences they were ignorant. That they were armchair strategists and tacticians, did not deter them from laying down for their commander the exact manner in which he was to conduct the expedition. In brief, he was to sail from Saybrook to the Pequot (Thames) River, land his forces, and strike inland to the attack. This was an order which, to Underhill and Gardiner, bore so singular a likeness to the "strong commission" of Endicott's futile expedition that their opposition was natural. No wonder, as Mason recorded, there was "often consulting how and in what manner we should proceed in our Enterprize." The men who had been "bred soldiers" from their youth, were naturally reluctant to hazard their own and their followers' lives in attempting to execute the unwise instructions of amateur strategists.

What was the situation? For an adequate appreciation of the difficulties and dangers of the campaign against the Pequots, it is necessary to bear in mind the territory involved, the fortifications to be assailed, and the strength of the attacking and defending forces.

Roughly, the Pequot territory was a tract of country extending some twenty-five miles from the Mystic River westward to the Connecticut River; while its depth from

the southern coastline inland to the primeval forests to the north was probably equal to twice the width. On the eastern boundary of this domain were the lands of the Nyantic and Narragansett Indians. As the Connecticut River on the west, with its great width and strong current, was a defensive moat on that side, the Pequots naturally placed their chief defences on the confines of the narrower and more sluggish Mystic River. By that deposition of their strongholds, they were the better prepared to repel any invasion by their Nyantic and Narragansett enemies.

Those strongholds on the Mystic River—two in number—were of the nature of palisadoes or fortified villages. The one which was eventually chosen for attack by Underhill and Mason was situated on elevated ground, and comprised an area of between one and two acres. The most detailed delineation of that particular Pequot fort was given by Philip Vincent.

Let me now describe this military fortress [he wrote] which natural reason and experience hath taught them to erect, without mathematical skill, or use of iron tool. They choose a piece of ground, dry and of best advantage, forty or fifty foot square (but this was at least two acres of ground). Here they pitch, close together as they can, young trees, as thick as a man's thigh or the calf of his leg. Ten or twelve foot high are they above the ground, and within rammed three foot deep with undermining, the earth being cast up for their better shelter against the enemy's dischargements. Betwixt these palisadoes are divers loopholes, through which they let fly their winged messengers. The door for the most part is entered sideways, which they stop with boughs or bushes, as need requireth. The space therein is full of wigwams, wherein their wives and children live with them.[37]

[37] Philip Vincent, *True Relation,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, VI, 38, 39.

Evidence has already been cited as to the warlike qualities of the Pequots; their numerical strength is less easy to determine. It seems probable, however, that, on a conservative estimate, they could muster between seven hundred and a thousand fighting men. Their weapons, of course, were mainly bows and arrows and tomahawks, supplemented by the few muskets they had taken from the English they had slain. On the other hand, the force commanded by Underhill and Mason consisted of about eighty Englishmen, and some three hundred friendly Nyantics and Narragansetts. But those Indian allies were far from dependable; they were courageous and cowardly by turn; and their chief service was in dealing with flying enemies rather than in attack. The serious fighting fell upon the English, and it was fortunate they were equipped with "hot-mouthed" muskets and were protected by their corselets and helmets.

From the foregoing it is understandable why Underhill and Gardiner and Mason were "often consulting how and in what manner" to act. To have followed the instructions of the Hartford magistrates would have been madness. If the expedition had attempted the shores of the Pequot River, where the enemy had innumerable scouts on the alert, their landing would have been stoutly contested; and, even if they had successfully disembarked, the Pequots would have drawn them on through dense tracts of country and fallen back on their strongholds on the Mystic. So, in defiance of the instructions from Hartford, those seasoned campaigners, "bred soldiers from their youth," decided that the plan which held most promise of victory would be to sail past the Pequot River, on to the coastline of the Narragansetts, land there, and

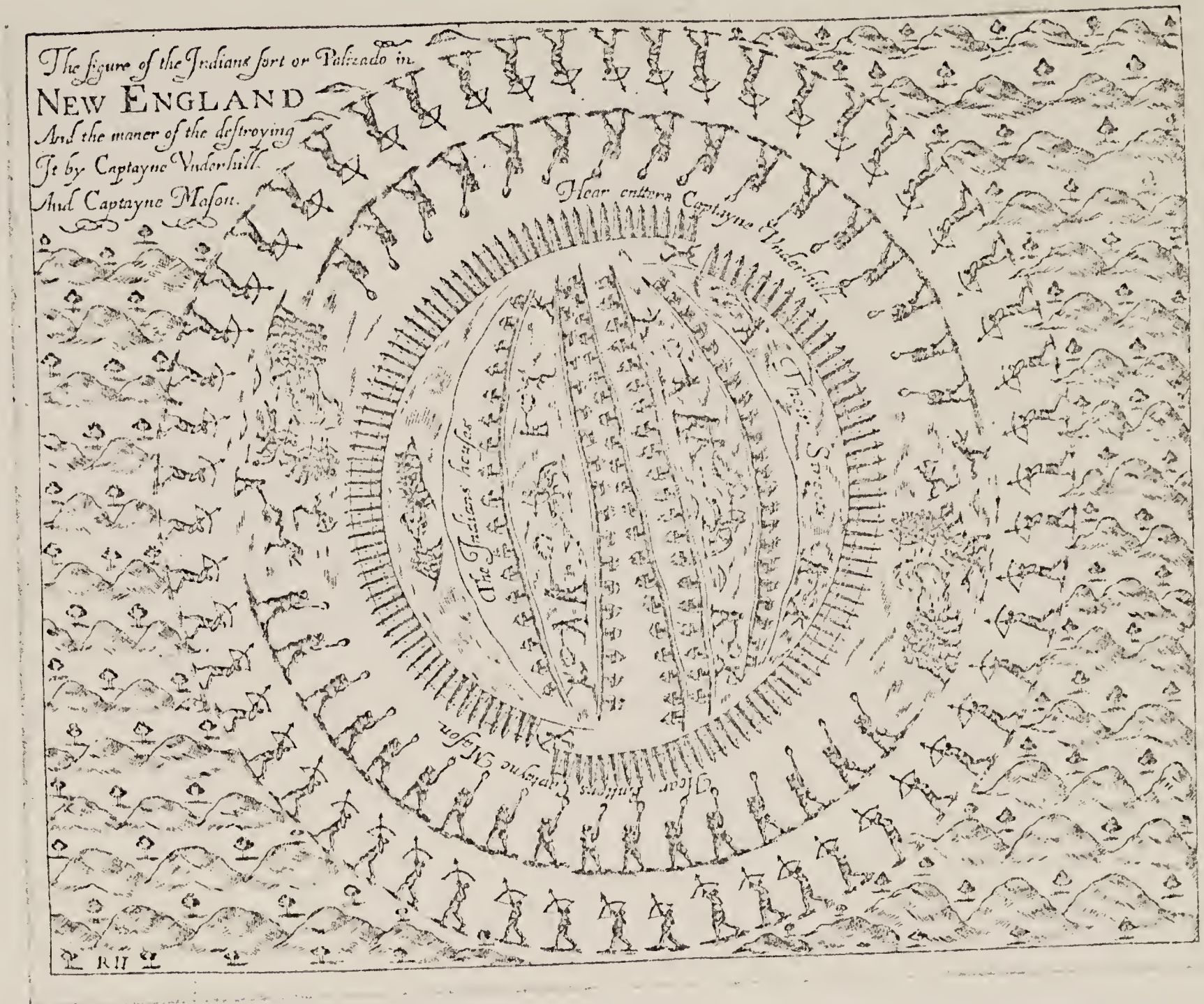
then turn westward to make a flank attack on the Mystic Fort.

Of course it was a daring procedure to favour a plan of campaign so drastically at variance with the Hartford commission; and the Puritan Captains adopted an ingenious method of justifying their disobedience to orders. Samuel Stone, the chaplain to whom Underhill had imparted an answer to prayer, was earnestly desired that he would "commend our condition to the Lord that night, to direct how and in what manner we should demean ourselves." Stone was sleeping aboard the pinnace in the river; but, very early in the morning, he came ashore to the fort, with the welcome intelligence that, as the result of his prayer, he was convinced that the expedition should make Narragansett its objective.[38]

Doubt being thus removed, the commanders "all agreed with one accord" to sail for the Narragansett coast. Of course their voyage was observed by the Pequot scouts as they sailed across the mouth of the Pequot River; and when they had passed out of sight, those watchers hastened to spread the news that the threatened expedition had been abandoned. So the Pequots proceeded to their forts on the Mystic, there to celebrate in feasting and high revelry their unexpected deliverance.

After landing in the Narragansett territory, there was, at first, a considerable rallying of the Narragansetts to the little force. But as the march was prolonged, many of those hasty recruits grew faint-hearted. And the nearer approach to the Pequots' forts resulted in further defections. "Of five or six hundred Indians," Vincent related,

[38] Mason, *History of the Pequot War,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd Series, VIII, 134.



MAP OF THE INDIAN FORT IN CAPTAIN JOHN UNDERHILL'S "NEWES FROM AMERICA," 1638

"not above half were left; and they had followed the rest, had not Captain Underhill upbraided them with cowardice, and promised them they should not fight or come within shot of the fort, but only surround it afar off." [39] It is worthy of note that to neither that vital service nor to several other actions of equal value, did Underhill make the least allusion in his narrative of the war.[40]

Owing to the far westward point at which the expedition landed, the advance on the Pequots' forts involved many weary miles of marching through difficult country; and when the force was within some ten miles of the stronghold in which the sachem Sassacus had taken up his quarters, some of Underhill's men fell lame, and, in their interests, he persuaded Mason that their attack should be made against the nearer Mystic Fort.[41] Underhill's care for his men marked the genuine commander.

Of the attack on Mystic Fort, the most spirited and orderly account is that written by Underhill, the salient passages of which may be quoted in full.

Quartering the last night's march within two miles of the place [he related], we set forth about one of the clock in the morning, having sufficient intelligence that they knew nothing of our coming. Drawing near to the fort, yielded up ourselves to God, and entreated his assistance

[39] Philip Vincent, *True Relation,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, VI, 37.

[40] Underhill has been unfairly treated by not a few of those who may be described as belonging to the orthodox school of Massachusetts historians. J. S. Barry is an example. In his History of Massachusetts, I, 225, he attributes to Mason and not to Underhill the action which kept some of the Indians faithful; and when he draws upon Underhill's narrative for picturesque details—as on page 227—he never mentions his name, but refers to him as "one of the actors."

[41] This incident is cited by Hutchinson (*History of Massachusetts,* I, 79) on the authority of a manuscript journal, which was doubtless destroyed in the insensate attack on and burning of the historian-Governor's house. Hutchinson characterized Underhill as "one of the forwardest of the Boston enthusiasts."

in so weighty an enterprise. We set on our march to surround the fort; Captain John Mason, approaching it to the west end, where it had an entrance to pass into it; myself marching to the south side, surrounding the fort; placing the Indians, for we had about three hundred of them, without side of our soldiers in a ring battalia, giving a volley of shot upon the fort. So remarkable it appeared to us, as we could not but admire at the providence of God in it, that soldiers so unexpert in the use of their arms, should give so complete a volley, as though the finger of God had touched both match and flint. Which volley being given at break of day, and themselves fast asleep for the most part, bred in them such a terror, that they brake forth into a most doleful cry; so as if God had not fitted the hearts of men for the service, it would have bred in them a commiseration towards them. But every man being bereaved of pity, fell upon the work without compassion, considering the blood they had shed of our native countrymen, and how barbarously they had dealt with them, and slain, first and last, about thirty persons.

Having given fire, we approached near to the entrance, which they had stopped full with arms of trees, or brakes. Myself approaching to the entrance, found the work too heavy for me, to draw out all those which were strongly forced in. We gave orders to one Master Hedge, and some other soldiers, to pull out those brakes. Having this done, and laid them between me and the entrance, and without order, proceeded first on the south end of the fort. . . . Having our swords in our right hand, our carbines or muskets in our left hand, we approached the fort, Master Hedge being shot through both arms, and more wounded. Though it be not commendable for a man to make mention of anything that might tend to his own honour, yet because I would have the providence of God observed, and his name magnified, as well for myself as others, I dare not omit, but let the world know, that deliverance was given to us that command, as well as to

private soldiers. Captain Mason and myself entering into the wigwams, he was shot, and received many arrows against his head-piece. God preserved him from many wounds. Myself received a shot in the left hip, through a sufficient buff coat, that if I had not been supplied with such a garment, the arrow would have pierced through me. Another I received between neck and shoulders, hanging in the linen of my head-piece. Others of our soldiers were shot, some through the shoulders, some in the face, some in the head, some in the legs, Captain Mason and myself losing each of us a man, and had nearly twenty wounded.

Most courageously these Pequots behaved themselves. But seeing the fort was too hot for us, we devised a way how we might save ourselves and prejudice them. Captain Mason entering into a wigwam, brought out a firebrand, after he had wounded many in the house. Then he set fire on the west side, where he entered; myself set fire on the south end with a train of powder. The fires of both meeting in the centre of the fort, blazed most terribly, and burnt all in the space of half an hour. Many courageous fellows were unwilling to come out, and fought most desperately through the palisadoes, so as they were scorched and burnt with the very flame, and were deprived of their arms—in regard the fire burnt their very bowstrings—and so perished valiantly. Mercy did they deserve for their valour, could we have had opportunity to have bestowed it. Many were burnt in the fort, both men, women, and children. Others forced out, and came in troops to the Indians, twenty and thirty at a time, which our soldiers received and entertained with the point of the sword. Down fell men, women, and children; those that escaped us, fell into the hands of the Indians that were in the rear of us. It is reported by themselves, that there were about four hundred souls in this fort, and not above five of them escaped out of our hands. Great and doleful was the bloody sight to the view of young

soldiers that never had been in war, to see so many souls lie gasping on the ground, so thick in some places, that you could hardly pass along.[42]

Such was the memorable battle of Mystic Fort, on the 26th of May, 1637. It was the doom of the Pequots. As John Fiske averred: "The tribe which had lorded it so fiercely over the New England forests was all at once wiped out of existence."

Notable, however, as was the victory achieved in the dawning light of that May day, even more remarkable as a feat of arms was the rearguard action which Underhill and Mason fought ere they could regain their vessels. News of the destruction of Mystic Fort quickly reached the other fort, and as the victors were making their way to the coast a band of some two hundred Pequots appeared. For a while, the situation was critical. The English were weary with constant marching, little sleep, and insufficient food. "Most were thirsty, but could find no water." Ammunition, too, was nearly exhausted. And, above all, they were hampered by their wounded, who had to be carried on mats slung from poles, many with the Pequot arrows still in their flesh. Underhill and Mason, however, met the situation with remarkable skill, inspiring their faithful Indian allies to deliver counter-attacks, halting now and then as though about to accept battle, and reserving musket-fire for crucial moments.

Daniel Patrick was waiting with his forty men; and there ensued an episode which is somewhat inexplicable. Mason avers that "there fell out a great contest between

[42] John Underhill, *News from America,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, VI, 23-25.

Captain Underhill and Captain Patrick, Captain Underhill claiming an interest in the bark where Patrick was, which indeed was Underhill's right."[43] As Underhill, again thinking first of his men, was determined to convey his wounded to Saybrook as quickly as possible, he eventually persuaded Patrick to give up the pinnace, and march overland to the Connecticut River with Mason and his unwounded men. In that way the wounded and whole reached Saybrook without further loss, and were "nobly entertained by Lieutenant Gardiner with many great guns."[44] The object of the expedition had been triumphantly achieved. The Pequot power was destroyed. For although there remained the aftermath by which Israel Stoughton and others with a large force of fresh soldiers pursued and slaughtered the fugitive Pequots, the decisive, irreparable blow had been delivered by the little band with which Underhill and Mason had annihilated Mystic Fort and its crowded wigwams.

As in his account of the unfortunate Block Island expedition, Underhill's narrative of the Pequot campaign is notable for its soldierly admiration of the courage of the enemy and for its ungrudging tributes to English valour. Though bred a soldier from his youth, and inured to the horrors of Netherlands warfare, Underhill was never callous. Vincent recorded a striking proof of that. When the Mohegans, as a pledge of their fidelity, brought a Pequot captive to Saybrook, they "tied one of his legs to a post, and twenty men, with a rope tied to the other, pulled him in pieces." To Underhill, that was intolerable barbarity; and he, Vincent noted, "shot a pistol

[43] Mason, *History of the Pequot War,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd Series, VIII, 143.
[44] *Ibid.,* 144.

through him, to despatch him."[45] The passages quoted above, and particularly such sympathetic phrases as "mercy they did deserve for their valour," are further evidence of Underhill's kindly spirit. Mason's nature was wholly different. He exulted where Underhill was considerate. He had a vision of God above the slaughtered and burning Indians, "laughing his enemies and the enemies of his people to scorn, making them as a fiery oven."[46] It is a singular fact, too, that whereas Underhill made several allusions to Mason's gallantry and the "Providences" which preserved him from fatal wounds, the Connecticut Captain was silent as to his fellow commander.

Among the contemporary estimates of the importance of the victory, Winthrop's anticipatory valuation showed keen appreciation of the situation. Writing to Bradford, six days before the battle, he said: "The thing is this, that it concerns us much to hasten this war to an end before the end of this summer, otherwise the news of it will discourage both your and our friends from coming to us next year; with what further hazard and loss it may expose us unto, yourselves may judge."[47] And about the same time he confided to Roger Williams that "if the Lord turn away his face from our sins, and bless our endeavours and yours at this turn against our bloody enemies, we and our children shall long enjoy peace in this our wilderness condition."[48] While those verdicts were prospective, and delivered at a time when the issue was in

[45] Philip Vincent, *True Relation,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, VI, 36.
[46] Mason, *History of the Pequot War,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd Series, VIII, 140.
[47] Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation,* 422.
[48] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st Series, I, 277.

doubt, the edict of the General Court of Massachusetts was retrospective and based upon known victory. That resolution took the form of a declaration about the Pequot country, and was to the effect that as that territory had fallen to the victors "by just title of conquest," the result was that "by subduing those our enemies, not only ourselves and our said associates [of Connecticut] have obtained rest and safety, but opportunity is also given for peaceable habitation to all such as shall hereafter inhabit the lands of our said enemies."[49] As Roger Williams reflected, Underhill and Mason and their comrades had been "blessed instruments of peace" to all New England.

Those contemporary appreciations have been emphatically endorsed by later historians. "From that hour," J. G. Palfrey wrote, "Connecticut was secure. There could now be unguarded sleep in the long-harassed homes of the settlers. It might be hoped that civilization was assured of a permanent home in New England."[50] Even the critical Peter Oliver made generous acknowledgment of the far-reaching effects of the victory. "An aboriginal coalition," he conceded, "first suggested by the Pequot chief, and afterwards carried into such terrible effect by King Philip, at this early period might have resulted in the extermination of the English; and some solitary ship, afterwards touching at Massachusetts Bay, would have beheld the stillness of the wilderness where was expected the busy hum of life, and have carried home the startling news that Transatlantic Puritanism had disappeared."[51] Unlike the preceding eulogists, John Fiske did not forget the men to whom the triumph was due. "Not for eight-

[49] Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, I, 216.
[50] J. G. Palfrey, *History of New England*, I, 467.
[51] Peter Oliver, *The Puritan Commonwealth*, 118.

and-thirty years after the destruction of the Pequots," he wrote, "not until a generation of red men had grown up that knew not Underhill and Mason, did the Indian of New England dare again to lift his hand against the white man. . . . The overthrow of the Pequots was a cardinal event in the planting of New England." [52] And, finally, to the above tributes of native historians may be added the equally emphatic testimony of the accomplished English scholar, J. A. Doyle. To him, "the overthrow of the Pequots meant even more for New England than the escape of Connecticut from massacre and destruction. By it the whole territorial relations between the English and the Indians was reversed. . . . The political unity of New England was but a question of time." [53]

But what of the immediate spoils? How fared the victors?

By piecing together the evidence of scattered letters, one of which was unknown until recent years, it appears that a prompt aftermath of the victory was a keen competition for the Pequot squaws who had been taken captive, the applicants including non-combatants as well as combatants. One of the promptest of the former was Hugh Peters, whose household affairs seem to have often been disordered by that lack of domestic servants which was a common complaint in early New England. As soon as the Salem minister heard of "a division of women and children in the Bay," he hastened to assure Winthrop that he would be "glad of a share," but considerately gave the Governor the choice of "a young woman or a girl and a boy, if you think good." [54] Israel Stoughton and his

[52] John Fiske, *The Beginnings of New England,* 133, 134.
[53] J. A. Doyle, *The Puritan Colonies,* I, 178.
[54] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VI, 95.

fellow officers were more precise in stating their aspirations. Stoughton himself had cast a favourable eye on a squaw who was "the fairest and largest" he had seen; Richard Collicot's preference was for "a little squaw"; but Richard Davenport desired a "tall one" who had "three strokes upon her stomach."[55] But in vain will the name of Underhill be sought among those eager applicants for Pequot squaws.

Nor did he figure in the list of those who were rewarded with Pequot territory. His lot was comparable to that of Roger Williams. In his old age, the founder of Rhode Island, recalling the far-off years of the Pequot campaign, modestly remarked that he was "possibly not far from the merit of a foot of land in that country, *which I have not.*"[56] Neither had Underhill. But Mason was more fortunate. Besides being remunerated at the rate of forty shillings a week, the General Court ordered "that Captain Mason shall have 500 acres for him and his heirs about the Pequot country; and the disposal of 500 more to such soldiers as joined with him in the service when they conquered the Indians there." And years later the gratitude of Connecticut added to his domains a further "500 acres of land for a farm." Nor should it be forgotten that Massachusetts presented him with ten pounds "for his good services against the Pequots."

Among the minor participants in the war who were not overlooked were Israel Stoughton and the Rev. John Wilson. The former, in addition to that "fairest and largest" squaw, was to be held "freed from rates" for a year; the pastor of the First Church was rewarded with

[55] Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, LI, 285.
[56] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st Series, I, 278.

twenty pounds "for going with the soldiers against the Pequots."[57]

And Underhill—how did he fare? To answer that question, it is necessary to relate circumstances which seem incredible.

His service at Saybrook and in the Pequot campaign extended over three months; but when he was dispatched to "keep the fort" there, the economical magistrates of Massachusetts assumed that his maintenance would be "at the charge of the gentlemen of Saybrook," namely, Lords Saye and Brooke and their fellow adventurers. Had those noblemen been in New England, they would doubtless have discharged their obligation generously and promptly. But they were not; and, on his return to Boston, Underhill—squaw-less, land-less, gratuity-less—was compelled to address a petition to the General Court for his three months' arrears! In the circumstances, his language was a model of moderation.

Whereas [he wrote] it is somewhat questionable whether the three months I was absent, as well in the service of the country as other particular persons, my request therefore is, that this honoured Court would be pleased to decide this controversy; myself alleging it to be the custom of nations, that if a Commander be lent to another State, by that State to whom he is a servant, both his place and means is not detained from him, so long as he doth not refuse the call of his own State, to which he is a servant, in case they shall call him home; but I leave it to your wisdoms. And further, that this honoured Court would be pleased to answer my ancient suit that 250 acres of land, promised me in my first covenants, which some of our honoured magistrates undertook to perform in the name of the whole. And if the honoured

[57] Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, I, 215.

Court shall vouchsafe to make some addition, that which hath not been deserved, by the same power of God may be in due season.

To that petition, the reticence of which is amazing, Underhill added a postscript which Lowell admired as a fine bit of philosophy which would "go the hearts of many in these days of high prices and wasteful taxation": "The time was when a little went far, then much was not known nor desired, now the time is that a great deal goeth but a little way; the reason of the difference lyeth only in the error of judgment, for nature requires no more to uphold it now than when it was satisfied with less." [58]

For sequel, the magistrates "consented that Captain Underhill should have his maintenance continued for the three months which he was at Saybrook," [59] doubtless hoping that in due time it might be possible to collect the money from Lords Saye and Brooke.

Little remains to be added to that anticlimax to the memorable victory at Mystic Fort. But Lion Gardiner's indignant protest—which was suppressed for nearly two centuries—will be enjoyably read and heartily endorsed by all who have pondered the foregoing narrative. More than twenty years after the Pequot campaign, the commander of Saybrook Fort was persuaded to write his recollections of that momentous war. And as he reflected on the manner in which some of the chief actors in that battle had been treated, he waxed angry, and bethought him of the ancient instance of the neglect of Mordecai. The New England Ahasuerus was asleep, and none awoke him with the story of the faithfulness of the men who

[58] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 177, 178.
[59] Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, I, 200.

had saved him from the assassin's hand. But Gardiner's pen was clamant. "Our New England twelve-penny Chronicle," he exclaimed, "is stuffed with a catalogue of the names of some, as if they had deserved immortal fame; but the right New England military worthies are left out for lack of room, as Major Mason, Captain Underhill, Lieutenant Seely, etc., who took the desperate way and design to Mystic Fort, and killed three hundred, burnt the fort and took many prisoners, though they are not once named."[60]

If, however, Gardiner could have scanned the autobiography of the ultra-orthodox, hyper-Puritan Thomas Shepard, he would have learnt why such a mere "military worthy" as Underhill had been consigned to oblivion. The soldiers had imagined that they had been the means of destroying the Pequots. But that was all a vain delusion. The battle was fought and the victory won by the theological synod at Cambridge; for Shepard solemnly declared that the "issue" of that synod was: "The Pequot Indians were fully discomfited."[61] Doubtless secular chronology would not have disturbed the exultant Shepard; he would not have allowed the pious elders to be robbed of their victory because Mystic Fort had been destroyed more than three months before the synod met.

[60] Lion Gardiner, *Pequot Wars*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III, 158.
[61] *Chronicles of the Early Planters of Massachusetts*, 548.

CHAPTER VII

"HERESY" AND BANISHMENT

A MONTH before setting out on that expedition which resulted in the destruction of Mystic Fort and the annihilation of the Pequot Indians, Underhill put his name to a petition which was fraught with momentous consequences for his career in New England. More than threescore men of Massachusetts affixed their signatures to that document; but Underhill's stood first on the list. He had no hesitation in affirming his belief in principles involved in the petition, and he steadfastly maintained that faith, although to do so was detrimental to his material interests. His conscience, he afterwards affirmed, prompted his action; and the same mentor ever after forbade him to retract his bond.

To appreciate the significance of the signature Underhill wrote on the 9th of March, 1637, it is necessary to recall the events which preceded that event.

As already noted, the explosive material which reached Boston on board the *Griffin* in the September of 1634, was not restricted to the gunpowder and other munitions of war carried by that vessel. One of the passengers, Anne Hutchinson, was to be provocative of devastation in the Puritan community.

Not that she lacked sympathy with Puritanism. Her belief, indeed, in that form of the new faith was so pronounced that it led her to abandon the settled order of

life and comfort of old England for the vagrant conditions and discomfort of New England. A resident of Alford, in Lincolnshire, where her husband possessed a considerable estate, she was naturally within the orbit of that definitive Puritan influence which the Rev. John Cotton exercised over the area of which Boston was the centre. Whatever may have been the case with William Hutchinson, who appears to have been a somewhat colourless person and wholly subservient to his wife's influence, Anne Hutchinson was in such close sympathy with Cotton's Puritanical creed and so deeply appreciative of his ministry, that when the Boston vicar was silenced by the Laudian inquisition and sought a haven in New England, she prepared to follow him. It must be remembered, too, that she had an additional affiliation with the Puritan camp in the fact that a sister of her husband was the wife of the Rev. John Wheelwright, who, like Cotton, had also been silenced for his refusal to conform to Laudian ritual and ceremonies.

By the time Anne Hutchinson arrived in Boston, Cotton had been teacher of the church there for nearly a year, having John Wilson for his colleague as pastor. She naturally sought admission to the fellowship in which her Lincolnshire friend held office; but whereas her husband was received within a month of his landing, her enrolment as a member was delayed until a month later. That postponement was due to the theological tittle-tattle of the Rev. Zachariah Symmes, who seems to have been ambitious to emulate his Old Testament namesake by acting as "porter of the door of the tabernacle of the congregation." Having voyaged to New England with Anne Hutchinson on board the *Griffin,* and had many conver-

sations with her in "the great cabin," the Rev. Zachariah appears to have had his clerical vanity wounded by perceiving that "she did slight the ministers of the word of God"; and, on landing, and learning of her application for admission to the church, he made no secret of his conviction that her opinions were "narrow and corrupt." All this the Puritan "porter of the door" imparted to the austere Thomas Dudley and many others, thereby delaying Anne Hutchinson's reception until her orthodoxy was vouched for by so high an authority as Cotton.

Thereafter, during some eighteen months, peace prevailed. For that period, there is no more pertinent witness than Cotton himself; for if the teacher of the Boston church was afterwards to fail his Lincolnshire disciple in a manner which has left a stain upon his reputation as a man and a Christian minister, his evidence as to her conduct before she was branded as the arch heretic of the community is the more valuable.

On her arrival and during her early sojourn in Boston, Anne Hutchinson was, Cotton testified, "well respected and esteemed" by him; not only because she and her family were beloved in their English home, and had left that home "for conscience sake," but chiefly for the reason that she did "much good" in Boston. Her beneficent activities were twofold. She was specially sympathetic and helpful in attending upon women in childbirth, a particularly valuable ministry in a community where doctors were few and nurses unskilful. And she improved those occasions to spiritual ends. She explained to her patients how treacherously easy it was to mistake outward religious observances for evidence of inward grace. Private and family prayer, strict keeping of the Sabbath,

reverence for ministers, frequent attendance upon sermons, honesty in the common relations of life—all these might be so much "legal work," devoid of any "saving union" with Christ. Many of her hearers, and their husbands, were so impressed by this teaching that they realized they had been trusting to "a Covenant of Works" and were thereby "shaken and humbled." To that ministry of the childbirth chamber, however, Anne Hutchinson added another and more social ministry, by establishing a weekly gathering in her home at which she reported and commented on the sermons of the previous Sunday. That lay conventicle soon developed into a popular function of Boston life, and threatened to rival the services of the sanctuary. Its conductress became an oracle. "What she repeated and confirmed," Cotton confessed, "was accounted sound; what she omitted, was accounted Apocrypha."[1] As early Boston life was so starved of mental diversion, it is not surprising that there were large attendances at the weekly gathering, and that many of the leading members of the community, including Governor Henry Vane, were often present.

In her résumés of the Sunday sermons and her comments thereon, Anne Hutchinson was guided by the principle that the discourses, and the men who preached them, were divisible into one of two categories: a Covenant of Works, or a Covenant of Grace. And in that connection, as she had assured her childbirth auditors, mere outward signs of sanctification were no proof of a state of grace. While, to the modern reader, all this must seem unmeaning jargon, there is no difficulty in comprehending the precise "heresy" which accounted for the bitterness with

[1] John Cotton, *The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared*, 50-54.

which Anne Hutchinson was assailed by practically all the ministers of her day. For, in her opinion, the ministers who preached a Covenant of Grace were limited to John Cotton, her brother-in-law John Wheelwright, and perhaps Thomas Shepard; all the others were in bondage to a Covenant of Works. The tale-bearing Zachariah had divined on the voyage that she "did slight the ministers of the word of God"; Cotton admitted that she did "dis-esteem generally the Elders of the Churches"; Edward Johnson related the incident of the man who offered to conduct anyone to "a woman that preaches better gospel than any of your black coats that have been at the university";[2] and from the proceedings of the subsequent trial it is obvious that what rankled most with the clerical inquisitors was that they had been characterized as "not able ministers of the gospel."

Such an aspersion was unbearable. Puritan ministers might, and did, describe themselves as "unworthy servants," and apply to their labours every adjective that savoured of humility; but for a mere lay person, and a woman to boot, to use the same words and deny that they were able ministers of the gospel, was intolerable. Clerical vanity is a sensitive quality; and the Puritan variety was hyper-sensitive. Naturally. The Puritan preachers had voyaged to New England to escape from a distasteful hierarchy; in New England they became a caste of their own. The wine of this novel experience was heady; they would be Lauds in their own right. From a monarchy, they had passed to a theocracy, of which they were the infallible priests; and now here was a mere woman challenging their authority and proclaiming them ineffi-

[2] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd Series, IV, 10.

cient ministers of the gospel! For a time, however, they restrained their enmity and waited their opportunity. Anne Hutchinson had too many and too influential adherents.

With the arrival, in the June of 1636, of her brother-in-law, John Wheelwright, her position was strengthened and weakened—strengthened immediately, but weakened ultimately. For it was through Wheelwright that the orthodox party was enabled to effect her ruin.

And a sermon was the cause. The occasion was a fast-day, which had been appointed in view of dangers from the Indians and the distractions of theological controversy; the scene was the rude meeting-house of the Boston church; the preacher was John Wheelwright; the text was from Matthew ix:15: "And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bridechamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them? but the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast."

To reproduce the sermon verbatim would be a sheer waste of type, ink, and paper. No modern reader would survive the perusal of more than a few sentences. But the discourse had such disastrous results for Underhill and others that an attempt must be made to present its most salient passages in as intelligible a form as possible.

There was only one cause, Wheelwright declared, why the true believer should fast: the absence of Christ. When Christ was present with his disciples, he supplied them abundantly with those consolations which forbade them to mourn. When he was absent, misery followed. That fast-day had been appointed because there were "divers ills" which they desired to see removed. Then the im-

portant question was, What should they do to achieve that end? Mere fasting was not sufficient: those that were least acquainted with the Lord, such as Papists, were most given to fasting. Then what course should be taken to insure the presence of Christ? They must prepare for a spiritual combat by putting on the whole armour of God; and if they did not in that manner strive against the enemies of the Lord, then those under a Covenant of Works would prevail. In that necessary spiritual warfare, it was essential to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints, for that gospel which declared that Jesus Christ, and nothing but Christ, was their justification. For men to think that hungering and thirsting after righteousness were marks of justification, was vain; that was nothing but a Covenant of Works. The only sanctification of any value, must grow from the root of Jesus Christ. Of those under a Covenant of Works, it was true that the more holy they were, the greater enemies were they to Christ. Those who trusted to themselves and their own righteousness, had not the Lord.

But, Wheelwright continued, would not such teaching cause a combustion in the church and commonwealth? It would; but Christ came to kindle fire on the earth. Would it not, too, discourage weak Christians? Yes; but the clearest exposition of the gospel would never be detrimental to the children of God. Three things were necessary. First, they must deal faithfully with the dispensing of the gospel. Second, they must love one another. And, third, they must have a care to show themselves holy in all manner of good conversation, both private and public. "Let us not give occasion," the preacher exhorted, "to those that are coming on, or mani-

festly opposite to the ways of grace, to suspect the way of grace, let us carry ourselves that they may be ashamed to blame us; let us deal uprightly with those with whom we have occasion to deal, and have a care to guide our families, and to perform duties that belong to us; and let us have a care that we give not occasion to others to say we are libertines, or Antinomians, but Christians."

Finally, Wheelwright assured his hearers that if they were in a state of grace, they would be happy, no matter what fate befell them. They might lose houses and lands and wives and friends; they might be banished and have the ordinances taken away, as John was banished to an island; but the presence of Christ would atone for all.[3]

Such was the purport of Wheelwright's sermon. That Cotton listened to it with unqualified approval is clear from his subsequent defence of its teaching; that Winthrop, at the time of its delivery, did not take serious exception to any of its statements, is the natural inference from the fact that he made no reference to it in his Journal. After the lapse of nearly three centuries, it must seem an unimpeachable discourse to all who are versed in Puritan phraseology. It was pious in the extreme, plentifully adorned with scriptural allusions and quotations, and impeccable in doctrine. But there was one man in the congregation who bitterly resented all its references to a Covenant of Works: John Wilson. And he, or a sympathizer—perhaps that industrious sermon-reporter, Robert Keayne—was busy taking copious notes as Wheelwright preached. For the preacher was related to Anne Hutchinson, that disturber of the regime of the theocracy

[3] A Sermon Preached at Boston in New England upon a Fast Day, by Mr. John Wheelwright: Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, IX, 256-274.

who was proclaiming the inefficiency of nearly all the divines of Massachusetts. As for the others, of whom Underhill was undoubtedly one, they listened to the sermon with hearty assent.

And it was not until some seven weeks later that it was proclaimed that Wheelwright had committed an unpardonable offence against the community!

That decision took the form of a resolution of the General Court, which, however, appears to have been adopted by a bare majority of votes, in the canvassing of which the vanity-wounded ministers displayed an energy which would have made them invaluable members of a modern political caucus. The entry in the official minutes was curt to a degree, as though the recorder was ashamed of the transaction. It was expressed, indeed, in these fifteen words: "It was concluded by the Court that Mr. Wheelwright was guilty of contempt and sedition."[4] Happily, it is possible to amplify the record by supplementary narratives; and those provide clear proof that the whole shameful episode was a cabal in which the wire-pullers and exploiters of back-stairs' devices were those "unworthy servants of the Lord" whose clerical conceit had been touched to the quick by the suggestion that they were not able ministers of the gospel. Those "unworthy" conspirators so engineered their plans that Wheelwright was summoned before the General Court, there to have the report of his sermon produced, which, however, he promptly countered with his own manuscript, to the word and letter of which he stoutly adhered. Wheelwright was not the man to be brow-beaten by either the Old England or the New England Lauds; and when the latter dis-

[4] Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, I, 189.

covered their miscalculation, they contented themselves for the time with the sentence quoted above. Just then, they dared not press matters too far. Governor Henry Vane gave Wheelwright his hearty support; and as he had a large following in New England, and many influential connections at the Court in Old England, it was expedient to proceed warily.

But even so, the verdict of the General Court was promptly called in question. Wheelwright's friends and supporters, of whom Underhill was one of the most zealous, were amazed at the censure; and when they left the Court they held a hurried consultation and decided to draft a petition to the magistrates, and present it without delay. The document was chiefly the composition of William Aspinwall—afterwards the first Secretary of Rhode Island—; and as that paper had such important results for Underhill, and has been the occasion of such amazing misrepresentations by the filio-pietistic school of New England historians, it is essential to quote it in full.

We, whose names are underwritten [so ran the petition] have diligently observed this honoured Court's proceedings against our dear and reverend brother in Christ, Mr. Wheelwright, now under censure of the Court for the truth of Christ. We do humbly beseech this honourable Court to accept this remonstrance or petition of ours, in all due submission tendered to your worships.

For, first, whereas our beloved brother, Mr. Wheelwright, is censured for contempt by the greater part of this honoured Court, we desire your worships to consider the sincere intention of our brother to promote your end in the day of fast; for whereas we do perceive your principal intention the day of fast looked chiefly at the public peace of the churches, our reverend brother did, to his best strength, and as the Lord assisted him, labour to pro-

mote your end, and therefore endeavoured to draw us nearer unto Christ, the head of our union, that so we might be established in peace, which we conceive to be the true way, sanctified of God, to obtain your end, and therefore deserves no such censure, as we conceive.

Secondly, whereas our dear brother is censured of sedition, we beseech your worships to consider, that either the person condemned must be culpable of some seditious fact, or his doctrine must be seditious, or must breed sedition in the hearts of his hearers, or else we know not upon what grounds he should be censured. Now, to the first, we have not heard any that have witnessed against our brother for any seditious fact. Secondly, neither was the doctrine itself, being no other but the very expressions of the Holy Ghost himself, and therefore cannot justly be branded with sedition. Thirdly, if you look at the effects of his doctrine upon the hearers, it hath not stirred up sedition in us, not so much as by accident; we have not drawn the sword, as sometimes Peter did, rashly, neither have we rescued our innocent brother, as sometimes the Israelites did Jonathan, and yet they did not seditiously. The covenant of free grace held forth by our brother hath taught us rather to become humble suppliants to your worships; and, if we should not prevail, we would rather with patience give our cheeks to the smiters. Since, therefore, the teacher, the doctrine and the hearers be most free from sedition, (as we conceive), we humbly beseech you, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, your Judge and ours, and for the honour of this Court and the proceedings thereof, that you will be pleased either to make it appear to us, and to all the world, to whom the knowledge of these things will come, wherein the sedition lies, or else acquit our brother of such a censure.

Further, we beseech you, remember the old method of Satan, the ancient enemy of free grace, in all ages of the churches, who hath raised up such calumnies against the faithful prophets of God. Elijah was called the troubler

of Israel, 1 Kings, 18.17, 18. Amos was charged for conspiracy, Amos 7.10. Paul was counted a pestilent fellow, or mover of sedition, and a ringleader of a sect, Acts 24.5; and Christ himself, as well as Paul, was charged to be a teacher of new doctrine, Mark 1.27, Acts 17.19. Now, we beseech you, consider, whether that old Serpent work not after his old method, even in our days.

Further, we beseech you, consider the danger of meddling against the prophets of God, Psalm 105.14, 15; for what ye do unto them the Lord Jesus takes as done unto himself. If you hurt any of his members, the head is very sensible of it; for so saith the Lord of Hosts, He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of mine eye, Zech. 2.8. And better a millstone were hanged about our necks, and that we were cast into the sea, than that we should offend any of these little ones, which believe on him, Matt. 18.6.

And, lastly, we beseech you consider, how you should stand in relation to us, as nursing fathers, which gives us encouragement to promote our humble requests to you, or else we should say with the prophet, Isa. 22.4, Look from me, that I may weep bitterly; Labour not to comfort me, etc.; or as Jer. 9.2. Oh that I had in the wilderness a lodging place of a way-faring man! And thus have we made known our griefs and desires to your worships, and leave them upon record with the Lord and with you, knowing that, if we should receive repulse from you, with the Lord we shall find grace.[5]

Such was the petition of the 9th of March, 1637; and first among the names "underwritten" was that of John Underhill. Then followed the signatures of fifty-eight members of the Boston church, and seventeen names of men of Salem, Roxbury and other towns.

In those hectic days of the March of 1637, no exception of any kind was taken to the petition. Which is hardly

[5] John Winthrop, *The History of New England,* ed. James Savage, I, 481-483.

surprising; for, as all can see, its terms were deferential to the extreme, and its logic unanswerable. All its Biblical allusions, too, were in perfect harmony with the Puritan appeal to the word of God. Let it be remembered also that the General Court took no action with regard to the document beyond placing it among its records; and that it was by the same General Court that John Underhill, the first signer of the petition, was not merely confirmed in his position as Captain for Boston but was also designated as "Captain for the country's service."[6] Moreover, a month later, confidence in him was so unimpaired that he was dispatched in command of the first contingent of soldiers destined for the Pequot campaign.

Yet it was Underhill's signature to the Wheelwright petition which, in the November of the same year, was made the excuse for his disfranchisement and dismissal from the Captain's place!

What had happened in the interval? One change was significant and provided the clue to the problem. When Underhill left Boston in the April of 1637 for the Pequot war, Henry Vane was Governor of Massachusetts; on his return in the following August, John Winthrop had been re-elected to that high office. That alteration was symbolical of a greater transformation. The beginnings of democracy and toleration had been stifled; theocracy and intolerance were again in the ascendant.

Two parties, in fact, had emerged in church and state: the conservative and the liberal. Of the former, John Winthrop was the leader; of the latter, Henry Vane. In the conservative camp were John Wilson and all the

[6] Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, I, 191.

ministers save Cotton; the liberal ranks included, in addition to Cotton, John Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinson, John Underhill, and a majority of the members of the Boston church. Among the magistrates, the unbending John Endicott and the stern Thomas Dudley could, of course, be counted upon to give their support to any and every effort to repress "heresy" in theological doctrine or liberalism in state policy.

So the first problem before the orthodox conservatives was to wrest the governing power from their opponents.

An astute device tending toward such a result was, despite much opposition, adopted by a bare majority at the conclusion of the General Court of the 9th of May. This was a resolution to the effect that "the Court of Elections, to be held in May next, should be held at Newtown" (Cambridge). The true inwardness of that adroit and successful move at a Court at which there was "much heat of contention" is lucidly given by Charles Francis Adams.

> If the election was held in Boston [he explained] every Boston freeman would assuredly be present, and his vote would count. The freemen from the other towns would be in a strange place; they would be overawed and silenced by the unanimity of those who felt themselves at home. If riot or violence should occur, the case would be yet worse, for every advantage would be on one side; all the disadvantages on the other. Then, after the magistrates were chosen, the sessions of the Court were to be held. At these sessions matters were to be discussed and issues were to be decided in regard to which intense feeling existed. Under such circumstances, a legislative assembly, which was supreme, could hardly be expected to hold its sittings in a place where the whole public sentiment was bitterly opposed to those composing a majority

of that assembly, and where the local church constituted itself a sort of board of revision over any action taken.[7]

That unprecedented action of transferring the General Court from the chief town to one of the minor settlements gave the orthodox conservatives the triumph they sought. The rival candidates for the governorship were Henry Vane and John Winthrop; and the latter was elected. Neither Vane, indeed, nor either of the other liberal candidates for assistantship, William Coddington and Atherton Hough, could command a majority. The "unworthy servants of the Lord" had so packed the electoral body with their adherents as to demonstrate that although they might not be able ministers of the gospel they were efficient ward-bosses.

Having secured control of the General Court of the May of 1637, the conservatives utilized their power to prevent the ranks of the liberals receiving any fresh accession of strength. It was known that a large party of new settlers, friends of Wheelwright and Anne Hutchinson, would shortly arrive in Boston, and it was deemed necessary to devise some method to deprive them of any power in the community. So an alien law was adopted, innocent of any quota, which imposed a penalty of forty pounds upon any person who entertained a newcomer for more than three weeks, unless with the consent of the magistrates. As has been unanswerably explained, the peculiar hardship of that partisan law consisted in the fact that "all the magistrates, without exception, belonged to one party in the state, and were wholly devoted to it." One of the stoutest apologists of that partial law was Winthrop himself, whose usually equable temperament was strangely

[7] *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, I, 449.

unbalanced by the religious reactions of those controversial days. But the first Governor of Massachusetts was no believer in democracy. "Democracy," he affirmed, "is among most civil nations accounted the meanest and worst of all forms of government . . . and histories record it hath always been of least continuance and fullest of troubles."

To the honour of John Cotton, who was so soon, unhappily, to become a servant of expediency, let it be remembered that the shameful alien law of the May of 1637 was so distasteful to the teacher of the Boston church that he seriously considered removal from a community whose proceedings savoured too much of Star Chamber methods. On calling to mind that the intention of his coming to New England was "not to disturb, but to edify the churches," he was forced to "entertain thoughts rather of peaceable removal than of offensive continuance"; and it is significant of the trend of opinion in Boston at the time that some threescore members of the church signed their names to a statement to the effect that they were ready to remove with him to some other part of the country.

If Cotton had preserved that list of names, there is no question it would have been identical with the threescore signatures written under the appeal in favour of Wheelwright, with that of Underhill in the first place.

But what happened at the General Court of May in connection with the Wheelwright petition? Nothing. There is not the least allusion to it on the records; neither did Winthrop mention it in his Journal. It is true that Wheelwright appeared before the Court, and was prepared to justify himself; but all the conservatives dared

do at that juncture was to enjoin him to appear at the next session. But the petition, which had, of course, been presented to the former and a wholly different Court, was completely ignored. That was surely a singular omission in connection with a document which, six months later, was to be discovered to be subversive of the commonwealth.

Even when Wheelwright duly appeared before the General Court of the 1st of August, 1637, he was "deferred to the next session of this Court." Nor were the conservatives ready to proceed to severe measures at the following Court of September 26th, for the decision then taken was that he should be "dismissed until he should be sent for by the Court, or Courts, which shall succeed."

Yet two days after the Court of August 1st an event happened which weakened Wheelwright's position and materially strengthened that of his opponents. Henry Vane sailed for England. Disheartened by the defection which had lost him the governorship and ousted him from the magistracy, and by his failure to mitigate the intolerance of the "unworthy servants of the Lord," he, like Sir Richard Saltonstall and several other more liberal-minded Puritans, came to the conclusion that he could render better service in old than in New England. As Winthrop specially recorded that Vane's supporters accompanied him to his ship and saluted him with "divers volleys of shot and five pieces of ordnance," it may be safely presumed that Underhill was prominent in that farewell party.

Ere that August month of 1637 was ended, the conservative party made another move in their intrigue to overthrow Wheelwright and his adherents. This device

took the apparently innocent form of calling together at Cambridge a theological synod to discuss the "erroneous opinions" and "unwholesome expressions" which were disturbing the community. As a method of arriving at the truth, the synod was a farce. If the "unworthy servants of the Lord" had possessed the least scintilla of humour, they must have succumbed to those understanding smiles which the augurs of ancient Rome were not always able to repress. But that saving grace was denied those dour Puritan divines; and the whole twenty-five of them, each in complete agreement with the other, continued for three weeks to air their views as to the eighty-two "erroneous opinions" and nine "unwholesome expressions" which were solemnly tabulated on the agenda. After enduring for a time the intolerable vapourings of divines who

> Could distinguish and divide
> A hair 'twixt south and south-west side,

and suffering to weariness the jargon of

> A sect whose chief devotion lies
> In odd perverse antipathies;
> In falling out with that or this,
> And finding something still amiss,

the lay delegates from Boston, having voiced an indignant protest, left the synod and went home. The climax has been dramatically described by a gifted Massachusetts historian. "After every conceivable abstract opinion and expression had been raked up, the entire pile was most appropriately disposed of by the Rev. Mr. Wilson with one sweep of the theological dung-fork. In reply to the gasping enquiry of one of his brethren as to what should

be done with such a dispensation of heterodoxies, the pastor of the Boston church exclaimed, no less vigorously than conclusively: 'Let them go to the devil of hell, from whence they came!' "[8]

On two counts, however, the orthodox organizers of the synod were able to congratulate themselves. They procured the adoption of a kind of creed which could be used as a test of Wheelwright's faith; and they converted John Cotton. Whether the latter really "saw the light," as he said, or whether, as has been charitably supposed, his inconsistency was probably due "to a confused mind rather than a dishonest temper," the fact remains that his conversion coincided with the turn of public opinion consequent on Vane's departure, and that from the date of the Cambridge synod neither Wheelwright nor Anne Hutchinson could rely upon his support.

And now it is pertinent to recall that in those tempestuous days of the August of 1637, John Underhill, newly returned from his valiant service in the Pequot war, made a courageous attempt to establish peaceful relations between the opposing parties.

His effort took the form of a long letter to John Winthrop, which was equally notable for its earnestness and deeply Christian spirit, and for its affectionate esteem for the Governor of Massachusetts. The letter, too, affords ample evidence of Underhill's familiarity with the Bible and also with ancient secular history. The manuscript, still preserved in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, is defective in several places, but the purport of the mutilated sentences can be divined in practically every hiatus.

[8] Charles Francis Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, I, 471-472.

Inscribing his letter "To the honourable Governor, John Winthrop, at his house in Boston," Underhill wrote:

Sir: You know how powerfully our Lord Jesus hath lately appeared in the ministry, exhorting us to pass by personal wrongs; nay, though they were such as might greatly redound to the dishonour of a man's calling, yet, as Moses, meekly to overlook them, to the end, dear and honoured Sir, that we might once more (if it be the will of God) enjoy our wonted harmony, without any certain objects which for the present do hinder the free passage of that Christian love that should be found among us. Sir, you know I once told you in regard of my inward troubles and mine absence three months alienation in affection. I presume to acquaint you with I was almost a neuter between both, not well knowing where the differences lay, further than God was pleased to teach me by his word and spirit, and therefore was the more silent, hoping that God, in his own time, would lighten the minds of men, so as to be convinced of the truth, at least some, for though Israel were as the sand, yet a remnant shall return; and the God of peace now beginning to appear amongst us, to cause peace to abound in Church and Commonwealth, give me leave to certify you of the speech of the people; nay, should I make it my humblest request, I should express no more than the earnest desire of my heart. And that, first, to put you in mind that Mr. Wheelwright being in convention before the judgment seat, in the behalf of Christ and the peace of his church, which of us all is much desired, that you would sweetly let his censure fall, and manifest the forbearance of God in that particular; the matter now depending but in point of honour, you know concerns your persons, and suppose you should be offended that way, which I see not so to be, yet pass it by, for preferring the honour of Christ and his spouse's peace; and I daresay it will be safer to forfeit your honour than proceed to disunion for sedition.

You see he intended no disturbance amongst us, however accidentally this shaking followed upon it, for we may easily discern that where the sword of God's word comes sharpened it separates a man from himself; therefore let this suffice, that it hath done more good than evil, many having endeavoured to manifest their union more and more, because God only can bring good out of evil; give him leave to take his own way, which doubtless we must, do what we can. Sir, give me leave to make a serious protestation: I have seen that in you that hath confirmed me that you are as dear to God as the apple of his eye; though these late passages have much stumbled me, yet I hold you the same man as before, as dear to God as ever, though perhaps, for the time being, you were left to temptation, as Hezekiah, to see what was to befall you; therefore, good Sir, go on pursuing peace to pursue it. Sir, to an unmortified heart my boldness might seem tedious, especially to yourself, being Governor and General of our forces, and myself but a mean Captain; but when I meet with the spirit of Christ, I dare be the bolder.

My second request is, you would be pleased, in the bowels of mercy alike to consider the estate of Stephen Greensmith; [9] you partly know the infirmities of the man, which I hope will move you to a serious pondering of his present condition. Remember it is a day of trouble, wherein we are to let the oppressed go free. You know it is not an offence against Christ, but the callings of men; and I hope, for peace sake, God will move your heart to prefer the peace of his Church before the rights of your own cause.

My third request is that you would so far respect the glory of God and the safety of us all, as to pardon that

[9] By the General Court of March 9th, 1637, Stephen Greensmith had been fined forty pounds and committed to the marshal in a bond of one hundred pounds for declaring that most of the ministers preached a covenant of works. The sentence was confirmed by the Court of May 17th, which decreed that he should pay his fine or forfeit his bond.

same unadvised speech of his in Court, and that by his sudden return to England he may stop the clamours may be there raised. Sir, I doubt not, if the man had understood himself, he would not have uttered such provoking speeches, for he might guess that the King's ear will not be open to receive every clamour; for my own part I am apt to think he looks at it as a part of his honour to have such a people under his sovereignty, and so much the rather seeing he is not charged by us, and we acknowledge him our King; and therefore, good Sir, consider the man's ignorance, which is pardonable in all. It is the first offence of this nature he ever fell into; and being the man came hither to seek after Christ, and in his course he hath run upon this shelf, let it suffice what is past, lest, if he lie long in prison, both he and others who are upon the point of closing with Christ, be driven on the rocks and shipwreck be made of cause and persons, both at once. Therefore be pleased, in the behalf of Christ, to release the prisoner and to let the oppressed go free, which is the true portraiture of a solemn fast. Isaiah lviii. 6. Otherwise, to be zealous for God, with neglect of mercy, will prove no less dangerous than sinful. Eccl. vii. 16. Mercy and pity, especially to ignorant persons, which, by reason of that infirmity, are gone out of the way, is so approved both of God and nature, as that Alexander could sound the praises of those princes that ruled a free people with a spirit of mercy; nay, further, Cyrus, a heathen prince, yet in reward of that mercy and clemency he showed to his captives, they were forced to bless the God of heaven that seeing they were fallen into an enemy's hands it was their hap to fall into the hands of so kind a prince. Therefore, that all may be at peace, manifested by the day of humiliation, let me once more crave your Christian pardon and afford me your judicious care in these propositions with which, till they be settled, my spirit will remain still burdened.[10]

[10] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 170-173.

Underhill's letter did not end with the words last quoted. There was another and more personal matter which he wished to submit for Winthrop's consideration; but it was characteristic of the man to give first place to his appeal on behalf of Wheelwright and Greensmith. The latter is a comparatively unknown figure in the early history of Boston; indeed, the references cited above are fuller than those of any other writer of the period. Judging from the sequel, Underhill's cogent appeal was successful, for the fine was cancelled. With Winthrop, whatever may have been the case with the "unworthy servants of the Lord," it may be safely inferred that Underhill's argument that Greensmith's offence was concerned merely with "the callings of men," was a decisive factor.

Before considering the results of his appeal for Wheelwright, the concluding passages of Underhill's letter demand attention. They dealt with a matter of which there is no record in the minutes of the General Court. It would seem, however, that, in ignorance of military matters, or for some reason to which there is no clue, the Court had come to a decision which was an obstacle to that promotion of Underhill which the magistrates professed to intend. Therefore, asking Winthrop not to blame him for speaking, he enquired why the magistrates were so "fearful" to advance him, when they had so many pledges of his fidelity. What those pledges were—among which he modestly refrained from including his invaluable services in the Pequot war—he set forth in emphatic terms, in which he blended fragments of autobiography with traits of personal character.

As first [he wrote] my deep engagement in Court, openly promising to stand for the liberty of God's ordinances against all unlawful powers.

My return from my native country and refusing proffers of preferment there.

Thirdly, my open subscribing the last year to repel all unlawful power that should come against us.

Sir, I have ever professed your enemies to be mine, and will you yet be afraid of me? I profess, Sir, till I know the cause, I shall not be satisfied, but I hope God will subdue me to his will; yet this I say, that such handling of officers in foreign parts hath so far subverted some of them as to cause them turn public rebels against their state and kingdom, which God forbid should ever be found once so much as to appear in my breast, for as for personal wrongs and impediments to callings are not so much to be stood upon. But make it your own case; would it not trouble your spirit to spend all your days about a calling, and having nothing else to live upon, and yet both be slighted, and such as never served only to be advanced? I pray you consider it, and judge charitably of my expressions. And further (good Sir) let me tell you the truth of my heart, to avoid those desperate temptations I have hereby been exposed to since I have been the land's servant, I would far rather lay down my place than be exposed to such miseries as I have known many commanders fall into. Thus humbly craving pardon for my rudeness, I leave you to God and rest, Yours at command.[11]

Though successful in obtaining relief for Greensmith, Underhill's reasoned and reasonable appeal for Wheelwright and himself had no effect. Wheelwright had been marked down as the instrument through whom the "unworthy servants of the Lord" were to have their wounded vanity appeased by the ultimate punishment

[11] *Ibid.*, 174.

of Anne Hutchinson; as to the Captain of the Pequot victory, his known friendship with Wheelwright was sufficient to nullify his request for the promised promotion.

So the situation at this juncture may be briefly summarized as follows: Henry Vane's departure had weakened and dispirited the advocates of tolerance; a formula of belief had been adopted of a tenor which it was known Wheelwright would not subscribe; Cotton had deserted the liberal camp; and the Cambridge synod had brought into use such words of opprobrious significance as Antinomian, Familist, and Libertine.

Of those three words, the last, now restricted to an immoral meaning, merely implied that the person in question was a free-thinker in the category of religion. The orthodox of Boston, however, were not averse to its being understood in an immoral sense, just as they also used Familist in a manner suggestive of a disreputable signification. By those abusers of words, too, Antinomian was equally utilized as conveying a reflection on the moral character of the person to whom it was applied.

In truth, however, as modern research has established, the charge of immorality brought against the seventeenth-century Familists was "utterly without support." [12] They made an indignant protest against being regarded as sympathizing with the Puritan form of faith, declaring that the Puritans were in favour of "pharisaical, self-chosen, outward tradition, rather than the performing of judgment, mercy, and faith, and such like true and inward righteousness." [13] Nor should it be overlooked that the

[12] Robert Barclay, *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, 26.
[13] *Ibid.*, 27.

Familists held that the law of God, as shown in the Ten Commandments and the New Testament, was binding on Christians.

But the word which was most bandied to and fro in Boston in the fall and winter of 1637 was Antinomian. Wheelwright seems to have unwittingly armed his opponents with that word, for it will be remembered that in his fast-day sermon he had appealed to his adherents to so order their lives as to give no occasion to others to say that they were Antinomians.

Of course the "unworthy servants of the Lord," intent upon the soothing of their lacerated clerical pride, did not scruple to ignore the fact that Antinomianism had its good meaning. It involved, indeed, a denial of the obligation of the Mosaic law as such, and was an assertion of the disinterested nature of virtuous conduct. Luther had taught that a sinful action might be committed in a state of faith; and that in such cases it would not be sin.

In its opprobrious meaning, however, Antinomianism, instead of being that mysterious and inexplicable doctrine which it has seemed to be to so many writers, was nothing more than a logical deduction from orthodox Calvinism. It was that hyper-Calvinism which lingered in many English villages until the last century, and bore its natural harvest in the grossly immoral lives of "the Elect."

For what is Calvinism? A diligent student of the central doctrine of the system, W. A. Copinger, supplies the answer. Reviewing the decisions of that Synod of Dort at which Calvinism was formulated in a series of propositions, he points out that the scheme of Calvin

"teaches that God has by an eternal, absolute, irrespective, and immutable decree predestined and elected certain individuals to salvation, and that all men who are not in the number of the Elect are rejected or reprobated by God, who has by an eternal decree predestined them before they were born to certain and everlasting death and damnation for which He himself prepared them." [14] The same authority, after describing how the Elect owe their calling to Divine grace alone, added: "Thus being made willing in the day of God's power, and thus obeying his efficacious call, the Elect, though they may occasionally fall into sin, yet, in consequence of the immutability of the Divine Decree, are always recovered to righteousness." [15]

Little prescience is required to realize the practical results of such a belief among people indifferent to or ignorant of minute theological distinctions. Let a person of that type be fully assured of his election, and it will follow, in the majority of cases, that morality will go by the board. He is a saint by Divine decree; conduct is unimportant; nothing can in any way jeopardize his eternal salvation.

It was in that sense the orthodox of Boston in 1637 used the word Antinomian, conveniently ignoring the fact that the immoral implication of the term was inherent in the very Calvinism they so stoutly professed. But their application of the word in its bad sense to Wheelwright and Anne Hutchinson and their sympathizers was a deliberate distortion of the truth. Their characters were as much above reproach as those of Cotton and

[14] *A Treatise on Predestination, Election and Grace,* 386.
[15] *Ibid.,* 386.

Winthrop or any of the godly-living members of the community. The word, as the orthodox used it, conveyed the stigma of immoral conduct; and that was all they troubled themselves with. Like Slander, they filled their mouths with "lying words."

Let it be remembered, however, that Underhill was not personally involved in the so-called Antinomian controversy. His "heresy" was of a different category. He was unorthodox because he was a valiant advocate of tolerance. No doubt he favoured the views of Wheelwright and Anne Hutchinson, and there were adequate reasons why he should share their dislike of the clerical vanity of most of the ministers; but his soldierly mind was of too practical and direct a quality to get entangled in the meshes of those "erroneous opinions" and "unwholesome expressions" which kept the Cambridge synod so busy in futile debate. As he wisely said in his letter to Winthrop, he was "almost a neuter between both, not knowing where the differences lay." But he was zealously eager that no man should be condemned as an offender for honest opinion.

To make an end of Anne Hutchinson's indirect connection with the catastrophe which befell Underhill's career in Massachusetts, it cannot be too emphatically asserted that, despite all that has been written to the contrary, the offence which effected her ruin and finally involved her in a tragic death, was not the tenor of her religious belief but her temerity in slighting the "unworthy servants of the Lord." She was a victim of clerical vanity. The Puritan divines of Massachusetts, who, by anticipation, fully justified Milton's jibe that "New presbyter is but old priest writ large," would have for-

given anything save the implication that they were not able ministers of the gospel. To them, that was the unpardonable sin. And their malignant enmity is obvious in all the evidence adduced at "that ghastliest den of human iniquity, an ecclesiastical criminal court" [16] before which Anne Hutchinson was indicted. It is in evidence, too, in the terms of the sentence of the General Court, in which she was charged with "traducing the ministers, and their ministry in this country." [17] And if further proof is necessary that clerical vanity was the prime motive of Anne Hutchinson's ruthless persecution it is provided in the unctuous phrase of the apologetic pamphlet of the time which claimed that prior to her advent the ministry of the Puritan divines had "a most precious sweet savour to all the saints." [18] So she was banished from the colony as "a woman not fit for our society," and expelled from the church and delivered to Satan as a "heathen and publican" and "a leper." [19] But that climax was not achieved until the downfall and banishment of Wheelwright, with whose fortunes Underhill was more closely connected, had been craftily plotted and accomplished.

In that intrigue, Winthrop, by a natural inference from his own words, must be held guilty of taking a leading and unworthy part.[20] When it was discovered, as had

[16] Brooks Adams, *The Emancipation of Massachusetts*, 65.

[17] Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, I, 207.

[18] Welde, *Short Story*, 40.

[19] Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2nd Series, IV, 190.

[20] No reader of Robert C. Winthrop's *Life and Letters of John Winthrop* can fail to appreciate, up to a point, the unreserved filial piety with which the biographer narrated the career of his ancestor in Old and New England. The qualification is necessary. When filial piety goes beyond the saturation point, it is liable to become wearisome and misleading. Mr. Winthrop had that defect of the quality. In his eyes, the first Governor of Massachusetts could do no wrong; for all his actions there was ample justification. But earlier and later

been anticipated, that Wheelwright declined to accept the formula of belief which had been specially framed to ensnare him and his adherents, it was deemed necessary to devise a method whereby all might be punished. "For this," Winthrop wrote, "a fair opportunity was offered by the remonstrance or petition, which they had preferred to the Court the 9th of the 1st month, wherein they affirm Mr. Wheelwright to be innocent, and that the Court had condemned the truth of Christ, with divers other scandalous and seditious speeches." [21]

No Massachusetts historian had a deeper admiration for the first Governor of the colony than James Savage, yet he did not hesitate to affirm that "*pretence* would have been as proper a word as *opportunity,* and a strange pretence it seems." And a later writer, Charles Francis Adams, who also highly esteemed the character and services of John Winthrop, exposed the chicanery of the "fair opportunity" in these cogent sentences: "Even had this petition been of a seditious character, it was presented to a former Court, and not to the one which now passed judgment upon it. The Court elected in November, 1637, had no more to do with the Boston remonstrance of the preceding March than with any other

writers have been more judicial; and to-day there are probably few who would venture to undertake a defence of Winthrop's conduct in the persecution of Wheelwright or in the savage trial of Anne Hutchinson. As to the latter, a significant fact has been generally overlooked. Owing to his knowledge of shorthand—an uncommon accomplishment in those days—John Higginson, the young chaplain of Saybrook Fort, was appointed reporter of the proceedings. When he had completed the transcript of his notes, however, the ministers decided against its publication, for the verbatim narrative revealed how poor a showing they and their vindictive speeches made against the nimble wit of Anne Hutchinson. Such records as have been preserved appear to have convinced Mr. Winthrop that the wisest policy was to say as little as possible about his ancestor's share in the persecution of Wheelwright and Anne Hutchinson.

[21] *John Winthrop's Journal,* ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 239.

paper, the character of which, as it slept among the dusty archives, some deputy might chance not to fancy. Those to whom it was addressed had considered it a respectful and proper document; and it was reserved for a body to which it was not addressed to hunt it up on the files, in order to declare it a contempt and make it the basis of a proscription." [22]

From the foregoing verdicts, the procedure adopted by Winthrop and the "unworthy servants of the Lord" may be clearly discerned. The petition in Wheelwright's favour, which Underhill was the first to sign, was raked up from the archives to be made not a "fair opportunity" but a shameless pretence for his undoing. This was the work of the General Court which began its sessions on the 2nd of November, 1637. As the petition has already been quoted in full, there is no necessity to dwell upon its deferential tone. But it must be recalled that those who signed it described themselves as "humble suppliants," stoutly protested their resolve not to resort to armed resistance, and declared their readiness, if necessary, to give their cheeks to the smiters. Yet they were charged with sedition! As a disinterested student has remarked: "Eight months had elapsed since the alleged offence had been committed, yet no attempt had been made to deal with it as a crime, till a question of political expediency made it convenient to do so." [23]

Great care was exercised by the clerical ward-bosses to pack the General Court with deputies favourable to their cause. The freemen of Boston, however, sent two friends of Wheelwright, William Aspinwall and John Cogge-

[22] *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, I, 478.
[23] J. A. Doyle, *The Puritan Colonies*, I, 135.

shall, to represent them. But when the Court opened, and the former expressed no repentance for having signed the petition, he was immediately discharged from the assembly. And although Coggeshall had not signed, as he protested that Wheelwright was innocent, he too was ignominiously cast out. Whereupon Boston elected John Oliver and William Colburn as their representatives, only to have the first-named as speedily ejected because his name was attached to the offending document. In fact, the Lord's "unworthy servants" in Massachusetts enacted a "Pride's Purge" of their legislative assembly more than a decade before the Roundhead soldier reduced the House of Commons to the "Rump" of inglorious memory. The pity of it was that New England had no Cromwell to put a summary end to the "prating" of the Court. Had there been, Massachusetts would the sooner have been delivered from that spiritual stagnation and atrophy which were the harvest of theocratic intolerance.

In such a Court, where the judges were all partisans, and where the members constituted a unanimous adverse jury, and where the charge was based upon a document with which the assembly had no legal right to deal, Wheelwright's position was hopeless. But he refused to be intimidated. Conscious that he had done no wrong, he stoutly declined to retract his fast-day sermon or to give up his ministry. So the fiat went forth that he was to be "disfranchised and banished, having fourteen days to settle his affairs." [24] As in the case of Roger Williams, the Court regarded not the season of the year. Perforce, then, Wheelwright had to set out alone "through the deepening snow, which that winter lay from November

[24] Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, I, 207.

to the end of March 'a yard deep,' according to Winthrop, beyond the Merrimac, and 'the more north the deeper,' while the mercury ranged so low that the exile himself, with a grim effort of humour, drearily remarked that he believed had he been filled with the 'very extracted spirits of sedition and contempt, they would have been frozen up and indisposed for action.' "[25]

While Wheelwright was pursuing his solitary and hazardous journey to the banks of the Piscataqua, the General Court addressed itself to passing sentence on his friends.

Among them, Underhill was the most conspicuous, and probably regarded as the most dangerous. With one exception, his subordinate officers, who had followed his example in signing the Wheelwright petition, refused to recant. He was known to be in high favour with Henry Vane; he had rendered invaluable service during his visit to England in 1634-5; he had brought the trained bands to a condition of great efficiency; and his leadership and valour in the Pequot war had established his reputation as the first soldier of the colony. Had Wheelwright's friends really been inclined to sedition and entertained any thoughts of armed rebellion, Underhill would have been their natural leader. Doubtless it was the fear of such an eventuality which prompted the sentence of the Court, which ran: "Captain Underhill, being convented for having his hand to the seditious writing, is disfranchised, and put from the Captain's place."[26] But that curt record does not tell all. Underhill was by no means the passive actor suggested by those twenty words.

On being summoned before the Court, and charged

[25] Charles Francis Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, I, 482.
[26] Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, I, 208.

with signing the petition, he immediately confessed the truth of the indictment. But he firmly declined to admit that his action was reprehensible. He could see no fault in it, he affirmed. And when the Court demanded by what rule he had taken upon himself to question the sentence of the magistrates, he promptly adduced two pertinent precedents.

There was the example of Joab, Underhill observed. That Old Testament soldier used "rough speech to David, when he retired himself for Absalom's death," and was not rebuked by the King for his boldness. Such a felicitous precedent ought to have appealed to and convinced the Puritan divines. It demonstrated that their military leader was as deeply read in the Old Testament as themselves. The precedent, however, may have seemed apt to the point of satire. As in the recent experience of the settlers of Massachusetts, who had been saved from the Pequots by Underhill, so the Israelites were indebted to Joab for his warlike services. Yet David was more concerned with a personal loss than with his people's safety. The parallel was exact. The "unworthy" clerics put personal pique, the mere "callings of men," before the public good. But they were obliged to offer a rejoinder of some kind, and the best retort they could make to Underhill was that he was but "a private man," and as such had no warrant to question the decision of the Court. That answer was mere subterfuge. As Captain of the country as well as of Boston, holding his dual appointment from the Governor and General Court, Underhill was no more a "private man" than Winthrop or any of the magistrates.

Turning next to a modern instance drawn from his own experience, Underhill reminded the Court that all

States allowed their military officers considerable liberty of speech. He himself had exercised that liberty with the Count of Nassau. That reminiscence of his campaigning in the Netherlands, and of the freedom allowed him by Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, in whose guard he had served, was so outside the knowledge of his accusers that they were obliged to leave the implied argument unanswered.

So, discomfited by Underhill's appeal to the Old Testament, which they could counter only by a falsehood, and silenced by his citation of the custom of nations, they finally took refuge in a question which was almost childish. How did it happen, they asked, that so many of them became so suddenly agreed "in so weighty and doubtful a case?"

Underhill's reply was prompt. Many of Wheelwright's friends, he said, were in the Court when he was charged with sedition, and they were so astonished that they at once left the assembly, and, in a hurried consultation, decided that the only course open to them was to present a petition in his favour. "And for my part," he concluded, "from that day to this, my conscience, which led me to it, will not suffer me to retract my signature."

But Underhill's frank explanation of the facts of the case was as ineffective as his unanswerable arguments. The Court decided that his consistency was mere "obstinacy"; and though his judges pretended to "pity him much" they proceeded to deprive him of his citizenship and dismiss him from that military position by which, seven years earlier, they had induced him to sever his ties with his old home.

Nor was that the end of the matter. A further indig-

nity was in store. The disfranchisement and dismissal were enacted on the 15th of November; when the Court met again five days later it was resolved that Underhill and all who refused to retract their approval of the Wheelwright petition should be disarmed. As their justification of this additional outrage, the ruthless repressers of tolerance set up a fearsome goblin of insurrection. There was "just cause of suspicion," they mendaciously asserted, that, as happened in the Munster rising of 1536, the supporters of Wheelwright would "make some sudden irruption upon those that differ from them in judgment." [27] For such a charge there was not a particle of evidence. If the advocates of tolerance had harboured any thought of armed rebellion, they would have made the attempt in the heyday of their ascendancy, while Henry Vane and other influential supporters were still in the colony. But all through, from first to last, their conduct had been strictly constitutional and in complete harmony with their profession that their belief in the free Covenant of Grace taught them to be "humble suppliants" and would impel them, if necessary, to give their "cheeks to the smiters." If they were repulsed by the Court, they would look to "find grace" with the Lord.

Certainly they found none with their fellow Puritans. A few days subsequent to the Court of November 20th, there was left at Underhill's house a small slip of paper on which were written these words: "By order of the Court, the arms of Captain John Underhill are to be delivered in to Mr. Cane's [Keayne] house at Boston, to wit, guns, pistols, swords, powder, shot, and match, upon pain of ten pounds, after notice left at his house;

[27] Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, I, 211.

and he is enjoined not to buy or borrow any of the aforesaid arms upon the penalty aforesaid until the Court shall take further order, unless he acknowledge he did evil in subscribing the seditious libel." [28]

Disfranchised, dismissed, disarmed! Such, in malignant revenge for a mere signature to a deferential petition, were the awards meted out to the man who had served the colony faithfully and valiantly for seven years! And the very Court which perpetrated those indignities placed upon its records an eloquent testimony to the incalculable value of Underhill's prowess in the Pequot campaign. For it was during the session of the 20th of November that the magistrates and deputies made the declaration to the effect that the conquest of the Pequots had bestowed "rest and security" upon the country and provided opportunity for "peaceful habitation" for the future.

One triumph was denied the obscurantists of the General Court. They were able to cancel Underhill's citizenship, rob him of his military rank, and denude him of his arms; but they were powerless to deprive him of the loyal support of the men who knew him best. With one exception, his comrades in arms, who had shared with him the training-days of peace and the hazardous days of war, and who had sympathized with him in his support of Wheelwright, refused to admit they "did evil" in signing the petition.

When Underhill delivered his arms at the house of Robert Keayne, the two could hardly have refrained from commenting on the changed situation as compared

[28] Although the actual document served upon Underhill has disappeared, as the terms of the summonses were identical in every case the above has been quoted from an original preserved in the Archives of the State House in Boston. The warrants were signed by the Secretary, Increase Nowell.

with those winter days of 1634-5 when they took counsel together in London as to how best to provide the colony with munitions of war. Keayne was too astute a business man to endanger his possessions and his secure home in Boston by any outward expression of sympathy with the advocates of tolerance; but ere his life ended he had had sufficient experience of the hide-bound divines of Boston to prompt him to bequeath them a posthumous admonition. "I would make it my request to the Reverend Elders of this country"—so he wrote in that will which has the distinction of being the most voluminous document of its kind in the early history of Massachusetts—"not to be too stiff and resolute in accomplishing their own wills and ways, but to hearken to the advice and counsel of their brethren . . . lest by too much stiffness they hinder many good works that may be profitable to themselves and to the whole country." [29] Winthrop was dead before that testamentary rebuke became known; but in the midst of the persecutions and high-handed proceedings of the winter of 1637-8 he received a letter which he must have read with an uneasy conscience. It was from the pen of the Rev. John White, of Dorchester, a man of unimpeachable Puritanism and nobility of character, and the virtual originator of the Massachusetts colony. Reports had reached him of the "affairs" of the settlers, he wrote, and although he would not presume to give advice he asked Winthrop and his friends to remember that "as liberty is sweet, so it is apt (as it is with sweetmeats) to allure men to excess." Then the venerable minister added: "You may be as much endangered by your liberty as we are by our bondage. I can-

[29] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, VI, 152.

not insist in particulars, but desire you to have an eye to one thing, that you fall not into that evil abroad, which you laboured to avoid at home, to bind all men to the same tenets and practise in things which, when they are well examined, will be found to be indifferent." [30] And there was another upright and faithful friend of the colony, Sir Richard Saltonstall, who in due time was to enforce the same moral. To gaze upon his portrait, with its suggestion of refinement and a kindly nature, is to understand why he so quickly returned to England, and why he was so deeply grieved by the reports of the "tyranny and persecutions" of New England. Writing to the teacher and pastor of the Boston church, Saltonstall exhorted them "not to practise those courses in a wilderness, which you went so far to prevent. These rigid ways," he went on, "have laid you very low in the hearts of the saints. I do assure you, I have heard them pray in the public assemblies that the Lord would give you meek and humble spirits, not to strive so much for uniformity as to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." And then, finally, the veteran minister went to the root of the matter: "I hope you do not assume to yourselves infallibility of judgment, when the most learned of the Apostles confesseth he knew but in part and saw but darkly as through a glass." [31] Clearly, New England would have been an uncomfortable and dangerous abode for so mellow an advocate of tolerance.

Meanwhile, the "tyranny and persecutions" of the General Court were disastrous for Underhill. Wheelwright possessed means and could still exercise his minis-

[30] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 5th Series, I, 252.
[31] Hutchinson, *Collection of Original Papers*, 401-402.

try in exile; Underhill, by one stroke, had been deprived of his livelihood. As he had reminded Winthrop, he was a soldier. He had spent all his days about his calling, and had nothing else to live upon.

In his dire perplexity before such an unexpected reverse and ruin, his thoughts seem to have turned naturally to England. For had he not received "profers of preferment" there when on his military mission of 1634-5? Perhaps that preferment might still be available.

But another, and less obvious, reason may have been a factor in Underhill's decision to visit London. It will be recalled that one of the contemporary narratives of the Pequot campaign was written by one who signed himself P. Vincent; and, owing to the date on the title-page of the copy from which a modern reprint was made, it has usually been inferred that the pamphlet was published in 1638. That version, however, was a second edition, and differed considerably from the first, which was executed by another printer. The title-page of the very rare first edition [32] has the following ascription: "London, Printed by M.P. for Nathanael Butter and John Bellamie. 1637." In this copy the imprimatur is printed on the back of the last page, and testifies, as in the second edition, that the license for publication had been granted on November 9th, 1637. One other piece of collateral evidence remains to be noted. In the Stationers' Hall Register there is a record to the effect that Vincent's pamphlet, "A True Relation of the Late Battell fought in New England, between the English and Salvages," was entered to Master Butter on November 13th, 1637.

[32] British Museum, C.33. c.22.

It is clear, then, that Vincent's tract was actually off the press by the second week in the November of 1637, and copies must have reached New England by the end of the year or early in 1638. As the first printed account of an event so important in the history of the colony, it was undoubtedly read and discussed with lively interest, and by none with more personal zest than Underhill and his comrades.

Who was P. Vincent, and what qualification had he for writing about the Pequot campaign? According to researches made in the last century, his name was Philip, and, after graduating at Cambridge, and being ordained, he held a living in Surrey for several years up to 1629.[33] That he visited New England and was in Boston at the time of the Pequot war, are indubitable inferences from the evidence of his pamphlet. That he actually participated in the fighting is highly improbable, for he makes no claim to have been an eye-witness; yet many of his remarks and allusions afford proof that he had personal knowledge of Boston and the country in its vicinity. But what reliance can be placed on his narrative of the fighting? The answer is suggested by his own words. After describing how, following upon the destruction of Mystic Fort, it was decided to send forward certain reinforcements to complete the conquest, he added: "Whereupon, Captain Underhill with his twenty men returned, and gave his account of those exploits of the New Englanders, which here we have communicated to the old English world."[34] The only possible inference from those words is that Vincent derived the bulk of his information from

[33] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, I, 86-90.
[34] Vincent, *True Relation,* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, VI, 39.

Underhill himself, on his return to Boston late in July. And, sailing shortly thereafter for England, he was thus in the fortunate position of being able to convey to "the old English world" the first account of a memorable exploit. For the nonce, indeed, the Rev. Philip Vincent could pose as a war correspondent, and was able to achieve a "scoop" over the commander himself.

But, like unordained war correspondents of later centuries, Vincent did not hesitate to adorn his tale with scraps of camp gossip derived from other sources. One of those "human-story" items he chronicled in these words: "The English went resolutely up to the door of the fort. 'What! shall we enter?' said Captain Underhill. 'What come we for else?' answered one Hedge, a young Northamptonshire gentleman." [35] It seems probable that Vincent gleaned that incident from the young Northamptonshire gentleman himself; and, as he is everywhere generous in his praise of Underhill's bravery and leadership, it is certain he had no derogatory thought in recording it. The story was just a bit of "copy," too picturesque to leave unused.

Underhill was of a different opinion. But the publication of Vincent's pamphlet may well have suggested to him the reflection that if there was a market for such productions, why should not he, who could write from personal knowledge, avail himself of the opportunity? Such a consideration, plus the opening it would give to correct Vincent, may well have strengthened his resolve to try his fortune in old England.

When he sailed is unknown. But as the crossing of the Atlantic in the seventeenth century was a protracted

[35] *Ibid.*, 37.

experience, and as Underhill was in negotiation with the Governor and Company for the Plantation of Providence Island before the end of March, 1638, he probably left Boston late in January or early in February.[36] In any case, it was his lot, as in 1634, to make the voyage at the worst season of the year.

Even while Underhill was crossing the Atlantic, events were happening in London which held promise of a future which would have been ample compensation for the loss of the captaincy of New England. The adventurers alluded to above, namely the Governor and Company for the Plantation of Providence Island, had for some seven years been engaged in an effort to make a prosperous colony of that and other adjacent islands of the Bahama group of the West Indies. Some of the men interested in the project, namely Lord Saye, Lord Brooke, and Sir Nathaniel Rich, were also connected with or friendly toward the New England settlements; others bore names which, as in the cases of John Pym and Oliver St. John, were to be written indelibly in the pages of history then beginning to unfold. Despite the shrewdness and business capacity of the men who controlled the Company, and the ample means available, the affairs of Providence Island were not prosperous. And, to the inefficiency of the men in charge of the settlement, the new year of 1638 added another problem for solution. Owing to the fine harbour and the favourable trade-route situation of the island, Providence was coveted by the Spaniards, and had already been attacked by them. Conse-

[36] An entry in the Town Records of Boston is liable to be misleading. It is there stated, under the date of Jan. 8, 1638—Boston Town Records, 26—that Captain John Underhill had fourscore acres, etc.; but that minute was merely in confirmation of a grant made in the December of 1635.

quently it was incumbent on the Company to strengthen its defences and augment its garrison. So the minutes of the committee meetings of the first two months of 1638 are replete with entries of such resolutions as "to send a further supply of able men," or "a supply of 120 men, with commanders, to be dispatched to Providence by the end of March next."

And then, without any premonition in the earlier minutes, the following entry was made on the records concerning a meeting which was held at Brooke House on the 24th of March, those present on that occasion being, Mr. Darley, Lord Mandeville, Lord Brooke, Mr. Pym:

"Captain Underhill was this day entertained on these conditions: To go by the next ship to Providence; to have his own and one servant's transportation borne by the company; to have one hundred pounds sterling for one year, whereof seventy pounds in hand, the rest to his assigns immediately on the first notice that the year is expired, the said year to commence from 12th of May next; to have meat and drink found him and his servant in the island." [37]

To the student of history, hardly any episode of Underhill's chequered career will hold so potent an appeal to the imagination as that simple entry in the records of the Providence Island Company. Of the four men with whom the New England Captain was in consultation that March day in Brooke House,[38] three were destined to

[37] Public Record Office: Colonial Entry Book III, 329.

[38] That mansion was situated in Holborn. It was sold in 1619 by the Earl of Bath to Sir Fulke Greville, and on his being created Baron Brooke in 1621, he applied his title to his town house. At his death in 1628, the mansion became the residence of the cousin he had adopted as his heir, namely the Lord Brooke of the above record, who met his death as a Parliamentary general at Lichfield in 1643.

At a Comittee at Brookehouse 24 March
for the Island of providence

Mr. Darley Dep:
Lo: Mandevill: Lo: Brooke Mr. Jym.

Capt. Underhill was this day entertayned on these Conditions. To goe by ye next Shipp to providence. To have his owne and one servants transportation borne by ye Comp: to have an 100l. ster for one yeere whereof lxx l. in have ye rest to his assigne immediatly on ye first notice that ye yeere is expired. ye said yeere to Commence from 12 E may next. to have meat & drinke found him and his servt. in ye Island.

A MINUTE FROM THE CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS IN LONDON, INDICATING THAT CAPTAIN JOHN UNDERHILL CONTEMPLATED RESIDING IN PROVIDENCE ISLAND IN 1638

take conspicuous parts in the great events which were shortly to change the current of English history; and one, John Pym, was but two years removed from that dominance of the Long Parliament which was to win him renown as "the greatest, as he was the first of Parliamentary leaders." While Henry Darley seems to have been a London merchant, two of his colleagues were peers whose sympathy with Puritanism had largely alienated them from their social order. It is true Lord Mandeville, as the Earl of Manchester, was to rouse the indignation of Cromwell for the spirit of compromise he manifested in the early days of the Civil War; but his association with Pym in the affairs of Providence Island was an indication that he, like so many more, realized that he might have to seek a new home across the seas. Lord Brooke, as the partner of Lord Saye in the plantation of Connecticut, had given ample evidence of his interest in the founding of Puritan colonies as an escape from a Laud-ridden England. Mandeville and Pym, of course, were two of those six members of Parliament whose impeachment by Charles I had such disastrous results for that monarch.

It is not difficult to divine how Underhill came into relations with the Providence Island committee. He was familiarly acquainted with Henry Vane, who was a close friend of Pym; and Lord Brooke would have received from Lion Gardiner full accounts of Underhill's assistance in defending Saybrook Fort against the Indians and of his valiant services in the Pequot campaign. Besides, Underhill's ability as a commander had been extolled in Vincent's recent pamphlet. If, then, the New England Captain was anxious to consider "profers of

preferment," the adventurers of Providence Island were no less anxious to discover a soldier qualified to take command of their forces. Indeed, it seemed as though Underhill's appearance in London at that juncture in Providence Island affairs was a providential coincidence.

Why the negotiations failed is a mystery. The records of the Company throw no light on the problem: Underhill suddenly appears therein by the entry quoted above; and then totally disappears. The existing minutes contain no other reference to the matter.

One probable explanation may be hazarded. Although the entry of the 24th of March has the appearance of recording a transaction definitely concluded, it may be that the minute merely set forth the terms upon which the negotiations were conducted. They would consequently embody the conditions of both parties. Which were those of the Company, and which were suggested by Underhill? It may be presumed that the Company, in view of their anxiety for the defence of the island, insisted upon his immediate departure—"to go by the next ship," —and that they were willing to defray the cost of the voyage for himself and servant, and to provide their meat and drink in the island; and it is probable that the condition of a year's contract also originated with Pym and his colleagues. But the amount of the salary could hardly have been a proposal of the committee. It was far higher than the standards they had adopted. The ministers of religion whom they had sent to Providence Island were paid about forty pounds a year; and the Governor's annual allowance was less than seventy pounds. Obviously, the committee would hesitate to give their Captain a salary more than thirty pounds in excess

of that paid to their Governor. So it is feasible that the negotiations failed because Underhill insisted upon the "hundred pounds sterling," and could not accept a mere year's contract. If he set his standard of remuneration at too high a figure—it was more than three times his New England salary—he was certainly justified in insisting upon more than a year's tenure of office; for he had a wife and family to support in Boston, and he would have been little the gainer if at the end of a year it became necessary to seek a new occupation.

But another explanation of the failure of the negotiations is also probable. As was to be experienced by Underhill ere a year had passed, the "unworthy" ministers of Boston were incredibly malignant in their persecution of the victor of the Pequot war, and it is not unlikely that some of their number wrote to the Providence Island adventurers to warn them against employing so dangerous an advocate of tolerance. If this may seem unbelievable, it should be sufficient to recall the undoubted fact that at this period the secret agents of the orthodox party in Massachusetts were assiduous in their efforts to mitigate the influence or ruin the prospects of any who presumed to criticise the conduct of affairs in New England. There is evidence, indeed, that there were Boston spies in the palace of Archbishop Laud himself. And a month before Underhill's negotiations with the Providence Island committee a young bookseller of London, Charles Greene, had been obliged to petition for the restoration of 400 copies of Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan,* which had been purloined by the industrious agents of Massachusetts.[39]

[39] State Papers: Domestic Series, Charles I, 1637-8, 257.

If, however, destiny had ordered that Underhill was not to assume the command of the Providence Island forces, one of his objects in visiting London was successfully achieved. The record of that accomplishment may still be read in the ancient Register of Stationers' Hall, where, under the date of 26th of April, 1638, and by the side of the name Peter Cole, these words were written: "Entered for his copy, under the hands of Mr. Clay and Mr. Apsley, warden, a book called News from America, by Captain John Underhill." Peter Cole, the bookseller, as he would have been described in the seventeenth century, but who would be termed a publisher to-day, does not appear to have continued long in that occupation. He began his book vending in the fall of 1637, and ended it in the spring of 1640; but he secured his little niche in New England history by becoming Underhill's publisher. His printer fared less happily. He has survived merely by his initials, "J.D."; but of "the signe of the Glove in Corne-hill," where copies were to be purchased, no vestige remains.

Of course the secret agents of Massachusetts would be avid to read the pamphlet as soon as it was published. But if they expected, as was likely, that it would provide data for a condemnatory report to Boston, they must have been bitterly disappointed. Remembering the experience through which he had so recently passed, Underhill would surely have been justified had he taken the opportunity to turn the tables on his persecutors, and make an appeal on behalf of the principles he held in common with Wheelwright and Henry Vane. He did neither. His pamphlet will be scanned in vain for a sentence of reproach, a phrase of bitterness, a word of complaint.

26° Aprilis 1638

Peter Dole

Entred for his Copy under the hands of mr Clay & mr Asplay warden a booke called Newes from America by Captain John Underhill

vjd

ENTRY OF CAPTAIN JOHN UNDERHILL'S "NEWES FROM AMERICA" IN THE REGISTER OF STATIONERS HALL, LONDON

On the contrary, indeed, he wrote of the recent dissensions in New England in a manner which would have done credit to Winthrop himself. After reminding his readers that they could not have Christ without a cross, he asked:

"Therefore, why are you astonished at New England, that there should be contentions there, and differences there, and that for the truth of Christ? Do you not remember that the cross followeth the church? Hath it not been already said that Christ's cross followeth him, and Andrew must bear it? . . . And why should men wonder at us, seeing that troubles and contentions have followed the purest churches since the beginning of the world to this day? . . . You that intend to go to New England, fear not a little trouble."[40] If the pen had been that of John Cotton, how could it have indicted a more convincing apology?

Only in one passage did Underhill touch upon controversial matters; and then it was merely to comment on and correct Vincent's statement.

Worthy reader [he remarked] let me entreat you to have a more charitable opinion of me (though unworthy to be better thought of) than is reported in the other book. You may remember there is a passage unjustly laid upon me, that when we should come to the entrance, I should put forth this question, "Shall we enter?" Others should answer again, "What came we hither for else?" It is well known to many, it was never my practice, in time of my command, when we are in garrison, much to consult with a private soldier, or to ask his advice in point of war; much less in a matter of so great moment as that was, which experience had often taught me was

[40] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, VI, 21, 22.

not a time to put forth such a question; and therefore pardon him that hath given the wrong information.[41]

For the rest, in addition to finding excuses for religious differences, Underhill waxed eloquent in extolling the attractions of New England. He could not have done more had the magistrates given him a generous subsidy as their publicity agent. Connecticut, Hudson's River, Long Island, Martha's Vineyard, Narragansett Bay, Plymouth, Piscataqua, Saco, Massachusetts Bay, were all eulogized in turn; and the panegyrist, exhausted of adjectives, at last pleaded that he refrained from "many particulars" either because they must be well known or because his discourse was intended to be a "warlike story."

From the date of the publication of *News From America*—26th of April, 1638—to the 1st of August in the same year, all traces of Underhill's whereabouts have disappeared. That he had returned to Boston by the latter date is certain. Apart from the publication of his pamphlet, his visit to England had been a failure: no satisfactory "profers of preferment" had taken definite form; and he found himself in New England once more with the problem of livelihood unsolved.

What was he to do? Confronted with that question, he naturally decided that the only course open to him for the moment was to realize his possessions. Hence this entry in the Boston Town Records: "Further, at this meeting it appeared by a writing dated the first day of August 1638, that Mr. John Underhill hath surrendered unto Mr. Thomas Makepeace, of Dorchester, his house in Boston with a hundred acres of upland at Muddy

[41] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, VI, 24.

River and ten acres of meadow or marsh ground there, and his share of woodlands in the Islands with a garden at the house and another behind Mr. Parker's house to the quantity of half an acre and somewhat more, and also near half an acre upon the Fort hill, for the sum of an hundred pounds." [42]

A hundred pounds was a substantial sum in the New England of those days. It represented Underhill's salary for more than three years. With that amount of capital, he could afford to remain in Boston for a time or make a fresh start elsewhere. Besides, remembering the tenor of his *News From America,* he may well have anticipated being reinstated in his captaincy.

That he was as keenly interested as ever in the military defences of the colony is proved by his early association with that organization which still survives and flourishes as the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company. In the histories of that regiment, there is a stereotyped statement to the effect that Underhill was the eleventh to sign the original roll. Unfortunately, all the original records have been lost, and what does duty now for the first muster-roll is merely a copy of a list which was made some forty years after the company was organized. It is not difficult, however, to trace the genesis of the organization or to indicate the time when Underhill may have become a member. The idea of a military company was suggested by Robert Keayne in the February of 1638,

[42] Second Report of the Record Commissioners, 39. In the Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, under date March 13th, 1639, is a delicious reference to the purchaser of Underhill's property. "Mr. Thomas Makepeace, because of his novel disposition, was informed we were weary of him, unless he reform." Probably Mr. Makepeace was equally "weary" of the faithful henchmen of the General Court. He appears, however, to have reformed sufficiently to be allowed to remain among them until his death in 1666.

when Underhill had left for England; an application for official recognition was made to the General Court of March 12th, and was "referred to council"; but on June 8th of the same year Keayne and the friends who were in favour of his proposal were granted permission to exercise where they pleased, and to have the use of the arms belonging to the commonwealth.[43] But the actual charter giving official status to the company was not granted until the 13 of 1 mo., 1638.[44] As by that date Underhill had left Boston under a sentence of banishment, it is obvious he had no part in signing whatever roll was made when the charter was granted. Yet he may well have been the eleventh on Keayne's first list. That is, as he was back in Boston by the beginning of August, and as the company had received partial recognition in the previous June, it is wholly probable that he was the eleventh man to express support of Keayne's proposal.

Whatever hopes he had, however, of being reinstated in his captaincy, were not to be realized. Like Wheelwright at a later date, he refused to stultify his conscience. There is no question that he could have had his captaincy again—at a price. But he would not pay it. That he made an application to the magistrates for reinstatement is clear from Winthrop's remarks in connection with the business transacted by the General Court of the September of 1638;[45] but, unhappily, it is equally obvious that Winthrop's comments and statements were coloured and distorted by that subservience to expediency to which the first Governor of Massachusetts succumbed

[43] Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, I, 231.
[44] *Ibid.*, 250.
[45] *Winthrop's Journal*, ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 275-277.

at that particular period.[46] There was, indeed, a Jesuitry of Puritanism as well as of Papistry.

When Underhill applied to be restored to his military position, he coupled with his request a petition for the three hundred acres of land which had been promised him; and that dual appeal was made the occasion of a dual inquisition. On the one hand, he was questioned as to some remarks he was reported to have made during the voyage to Boston; on the other, he was asked whether he maintained his opinion and support of the Wheelwright petition.

As to the first of those matters, he was charged with having declared that the magistrates and elders of New England were "zealous as the Scribes and Pharisees were, and as Paul was before his conversion"; and when he demanded the evidence on which his accusers relied, they cited a woman who had been a fellow passenger on the ship. This, as in the case of the tale-bearing Rev. Zachariah Symmes, was another instance of casual shipboard conversation being distorted into mischievous tittle-tattle. Even if true, the offence was trivial enough, and mild compared with the rebuke John White had addressed to Winthrop from Dorchester; but Underhill rightly resented that the General Court should base its charge on the testimony of one witness, for had not their Divine Master laid down the rule that accusations were to be established "in the mouth of two or three witnesses"? In truth, however, the magistrates of Massachusetts were

[46] Lest this should seem a harsh and unwarranted judgment, it may be recalled that the judicial Charles Francis Adams, in discussing Winthrop's manipulation of an alleged confession by Wheelwright, wrote: "None of the public men of that time were above such tricks. The best of them seem to have looked upon low cunning as an admitted feature of statecraft."—*Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, II, 541.

as peevish in any matter affecting their dignity as the divines were in connection with reflections on their shortcomings as ministers of the gospel. As John Lee had been whipped and fined for saying the Governor was "but a lawyer's clerk," and as Israel Stoughton had been declared incapable of bearing office for three years for affirming "the assistants were no magistrates," perhaps it is not surprising the Court angrily resented the reflections which had been imputed to Underhill.

And it was in that mood he was questioned as to whether he had changed his mind with reference to the Wheelwright petition. It had been reported to the Court that he had retracted his approval and signature to that document: was that the case? Underhill must have been aware that upon his answer depended whether or no he was to be restored to his military position. But not for a moment did he hesitate. He was willing to express regret, he said, for the *manner* of the petition, but he had nothing to retract as to the *matter* of that document. That is, he had not swerved a jot from the conviction he had expressed to the Court which dismissed him: his conscience, which led him to it, would not suffer him to retract his signature. That sturdy consistency was in the indomitable spirit of Luther: "Here I stand; I can do no otherwise. God help me. Amen!"

To complete the parallel, the Court of Massachusetts adopted the device of the Diet of Worms; but the issue was in the end as futile as the decree which banished Luther and threatened his sympathizers with extermination. The edict of the General Court of the 6th of September, 1638, after setting forth that the assembly had been "abused" by the "mental reservation" of the offender

in saying his "failing was only in the manner," proceeded to this stern conclusion: "Mr. John Underhill is banished, to go out of this jurisdiction within 14 days, and not to return any more, except it be to take his passage in the ship of Salem, now bound for England." [47]

As he listened to that oracular sentence, Underhill must have smiled at the memory evoked by the reference to Salem. He could not have forgotten that January day of 1636 when he had been dispatched to Salem, there to arrest Roger Williams preparatory to his being "shipped to England." The sequel was to be repeated. As the founder of Rhode Island had declined to be "shipped" back to his native land, as though he were a counterfeit coin flung back to its issuer, so the Captain of New England had no intention of taking passage in that ship of Salem.

But whither should he go? Other martyrs of tolerance had found havens in regions outside the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Company. Roger Williams was safely planted in Rhode Island, and thither William Coddington had gone. Anne Hutchinson and her family had found a home in Aquidneck (Porstmouth, R. I.)—a half-way abiding-place in that journey to the mouth of the Hudson where she fell a victim to Indian barbarity. Wheelwright had settled at Exeter on the Piscataqua River. As Underhill's "heresy" was a belief in tolerance, and as he had been cast out because he adhered to the teaching of the fast-day sermon and to his conviction that its preacher had been unjustly condemned, what was more natural than that he should decide to join Wheelwright in the Piscataqua country?

[47] Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, I, 237.

How it would have heartened him in his resolve could he have foreseen the ultimate vindication of the woman whose "heresy" and plain-speaking about the New England divines had been the root cause of his and others' exile. For to-day the notice board of the First Church of Boston proclaims that the faith taught therein is "UNITARIAN"; and within the stately building which is the successor of the rude meeting-house from whence Anne Hutchinson was cast out to be delivered to Satan as a heathen and a leper, is a mural tablet to her "honor," which describes her as "a persuasive advocate of the right of independent judgment." As John Underhill was also a member of that church, the expiation of old-time bigotry will not be complete until his name too is inscribed on the walls of a temple dedicated to "the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, the Leadership of Jesus, Salvation by Character, and the Progress of Mankind onward and upward for ever."

CHAPTER VIII

GOVERNOR OF DOVER

UNDERHILL'S choice of his place of exile was not wholly determined by his natural desire for the companionship or near neighbourhood of Wheelwright; partly at least he must have been influenced by his knowledge of the desirability of the Piscataqua country. For it is clear from his *News from America* that he was well acquainted with the attractions of that delectable region of New Hampshire. After indicating some of the other places which would "yield special accommodation to such as will plant there," he assured his readers that the Pascataqua district was not to be neglected.

> Piscataqua [he wrote] is a river navigable for a ship of a hundred tons some six leagues up. With boats and pinnaces you may go a great way further. It is the only key of the country for safety. With twelve pieces of ordnance, will keep out all the enemies in the world. The mouth of the river is narrow, lies full upon the southeast sea; so as there is no anchoring without, except you hazard ship and men. It is accommodated with good soil, abundance of good timber; meadows are not wanting to the place. Pity it is it hath been so long neglected.[1]

As will be obvious from Underhill's account, more than a mere river was included under the name Piscataqua in those days. When Winthrop used the word—which was spelt with bewildering diversity in the seventeenth cen-

[1] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, VI, 14.

tury—he implied not merely the river but also the various settlements along its banks and those of its tributary streams, such as Exeter on the Squamscott, and Dover.[2] Although maps were crude and topographical knowledge inexact, the Governor and magistrates of Massachusetts were, like Underhill, fully acquainted with the valuable qualities of the Piscataqua country. And their knowledge prompted them to constant disregard of the tenth commandment. In his old age, Roger Williams hazarded the prophecy that in generations to come the descendants of the early settlers of America would worship "the Trinity of the World": Profit, Preferment, Pleasure; and that "God Land will be (as now it is) as great a God with the English as God Gold was with the Spaniards."[3] Those words were as much an assertion as a prophecy. They were coloured by what Roger Williams knew of the covetous spirit of Massachusetts.

For "God Land" was undeniably a "great God" with Winthrop and his associates; and that fact provides the chief key to the problems of Underhill's sojourn in the Piscataqua country. Prodigiously liberal as was the grant of territory made to the promoters of the Massachusetts colony, including all the land between three miles north of the Merrimac and three miles south of the Charles, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, they were not satisfied therewith. And they were indifferent to the fact that some of that territory had already been granted

[2] That name had several predecessors, such as Hilton's Point, and Bristol; but during Underhill's residence the form of Dover prevailed, and indicated the place now known as Dover Neck. The Dover of to-day was known as Cochecho in Underhill's time, and seems to have been mistaken by Whittier in his poem on the New England Captain for the settlement which had its centre of political and religious life at Dover Neck or Point. Early New Hampshire history is liable to be confusing if the foregoing distinctions are overlooked.

[3] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VI, 296.

to earlier adventurers. Hence their rivalry with and scarcely disguised enmity to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, who held older patents for large tracts of land in the New Hampshire and Maine of the future. Mason's grant, indeed, included specifically all the land between the Kennebec and Merrimac, and hence embraced the Piscataqua country.

When Underhill left Boston in the late September of 1638, his destination was well known to Winthrop and the magistrates. At least, they were aware that Wheelwright's home at Exeter was his first objective. Nearly a year had passed since the banished preacher of the fast-day sermon had settled by the banks of the Squamscott and given the township that Devonshire cathedral-city name which is now enhanced by academic renown. In the spring, he had been joined by his wife and family; and now, as the year waned to the fall, he was to have the happiness of welcoming not merely his most courageous supporter in the person of Underhill, but also another "stout man and experienced soldier," namely, Richard Morris, John Underhill's faithful lieutenant and step-father.

Indeed, it is almost certain the two comrades travelled together; for the General Court which banished Underhill informed Morris that he had "leave to depart" and warned him "not to sit down within our limits." Morris' offence, of course, was that he also had signed the Wheelwright petition and refused to retract. Underhill's unjust banishment and Morris' curt dismissal doubtless enhanced the warmth of Wheelwright's reception of the two friends; and, their fifty-mile journey safely ended, the two comrades must have felt that their

exile was mitigated by the kindly welcome they received from the occupants of the rude farm-houses and saw-mills on the banks of the Squamscott.

No sooner had Underhill left Boston for the Piscataqua country than the Massachusetts magistrates began to be troubled by uneasy speculations as to the influence he might obtain there. Indeed, it is a significant fact that in the secret deliberations of the General Court which banished Underhill, counsel was taken as to how best to prevent him from attaining any position of authority, so little was the grace of charity exercised by the Bay magistrates towards those who dared to differ from them in religious matters. Winthrop's own testimony is proof of that. In an entry in his Journal for the November of 1638 he expressly recorded that it was "by order of the last General Court" he had written to various persons at Piscataqua to warn them against "entertaining and countenancing some that we had cast out."[4] Now, the Court to which he referred was that of the previous September, the Court which had banished Underhill; but in the official minutes of the business of that assembly there is not the least allusion to or record of any such important order as that which Winthrop cited as his authority for writing to Piscataqua. The records are replete with minutes of decisions on numerous trivial matters; but there is no reference of any kind to the order mentioned by the Governor. The conclusion is irresistible that the attempt to injure Underhill even in exile was decided upon in secret conclave.

Several of the names mentioned by Winthrop as those of the persons to whom he addressed his letter of warning

[4] *Winthrop's Journal*, ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 279.

are interesting as indicating some of the settlers at Piscataqua with whom Underhill became associated. They included Burdett, Wiggin, and Edward Hilton. And as they were all connected with the Dover region, it follows that Underhill soon realized that there might be more scope for him there than in Wheelwright's small township at Exeter.

First among Winthrop's names was that of Burdett, that is, the Rev. George Burdett, who had been admitted as a freeman of the Massachusetts colony on the 2nd of September, 1635. For several years this divine so deceived the elect of Boston that Thomas Dudley characterized him as his "loving brother." The hallucination was excusable. It was only necessary for Burdett to give a truthful account of the charges which had been brought against him in the Court of High Commission to win the esteem of the anti-Laudians of the Bay. Those indictments asserted that, in the exercise of his ministry as public lecturer at Great Yarmouth, he had declared that "those that are most forward to bow at the name of Jesus are the greatest hypocrites"; that as to delineations of the persons of the Trinity, none could convince him that this or that picture more resembled Jesus than Judas; and that confession of sins according to the liturgy of the Church of England was no confession.

For the offences enumerated above and for others against the rites and ceremonies which Laud had instituted, Burdett was removed from his preachership, commanded to make public submission, and condemned in heavy costs.[5] Such an experience would be sufficient to commend him to the Puritans of the Bay. He

[5] State Papers, Charles I, 1634-1635, 537-9.

probably omitted to inform them that, as he took refuge in flight, the Yarmouth fishmonger who became his surety had to forfeit his bond of fifty pounds.

It was early in the February of 1635 that Burdett was sentenced by the Court of High Commission; later in the same month, he having fled to London, he was in communication with that committee of the Providence Island Company which, three years later, was to carry on negotiations with Underhill. The proposal to Burdett was that he should proceed to Providence Island as a minister, and he seems to have promised that he could persuade to accompany him "some godly persons now intending to return to New England." As Underhill was in London at the time on his military mission of 1634-5, he may have been one of the returning New Englanders whom Burdett had in mind. But as Underhill was not destined to go to Providence Island, neither was Burdett. The two, however, were to meet on American soil. For after joining the church at Salem, and preaching there for a time, Burdett removed to Piscataqua a year or so before Underhill arrived.

Even while he was still at Salem, and within three months of his taking the oath of fidelity to the Massachusetts colony, Burdett was in communication with Archbishop Laud.[6] His first letter, which was written from Salem in the December of 1635 and was endorsed by Laud as having been received by him on the 23rd of February, 1636, was non-committal. It took the form of

[6] One of the very rare Homeric nods of James Savage transpired in connection with Burdett's duplicity. In a footnote comment on Winthrop's statement of 1638 to the effect that Burdett had intelligence with Laud, Savage wrote: "I marvel at the charge by Winthrop, that he had intelligence with the prelatical party at home." Winthrop's erudite editor would not have marvelled had he been acquainted with the Burdett letters cited in the text above.

an *apologia.* Burdett knew his "voluntary exile" had exposed him to censure; but he was an injured man, the victim of malice and perjury. He wrote to rectify his Grace's judgment of him and his ways, and to stop the mouth of calumny. He would rejoice if he could enjoy tranquillity in his native country; and he much desired a favourable line from his Grace.[7]

Whether Burdett ever received that "favourable line" does not appear. Probably it was never written. The Archbishop was much too absorbed in immediate and more anxious problems to be able to spare time in corresponding with recalcitrant ministers so far away as New England.

But, three years later, Burdett wrote again. He had now been some time at Piscataqua, and his experiences there had deepened the conviction which seems to have dawned upon him at Salem—the conviction that the "tranquility" for which he pined might be obtainable on less onerous terms in old than in New England. Besides, Underhill had arrived at Piscataqua, and he quickly divined that with the advent of the forthright Captain of Massachusetts his own regime was at an end.

So the purport of the letter which Burdett addressed to Laud from Piscataqua on the 20th of November, 1638 was wholly different from that of his *apologia* written at Salem three years earlier. And the document is of such fundamental importance for its bearing on the attitude of Massachusetts towards Underhill, and for the light it throws on Underhill's relations with Burdett, that its salient passages must be given here in full. After reporting that he had been informed of a supplication

[7] State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660, 218.

sent to England by the Massachusetts magistrates, Burdett continued:

But, my Lord, the truth is this: It is their Court conclusion, long since decreed, to spend their blood in opposing all countermands to their present way and humour, to which purpose they use all diligence to fortify themselves; because the River of Piscataqua is very beneficial for plantation, having also an excellent harbour which may much profit or annoy them in case of war, therefore they endeavour with all their skill and might to obtain the command thereof, which, if they gain, not only a place most advantageous to his Majesty may be hazarded, but the hearts and hands of his yet faithful subjects may be estranged and weakened by their practices. I do therefore conceive that your Grace will judge it necessary with all expedition to secure that River and harbour for his Majesty's use. I neither dare nor need presume herein to direct your Grace; but the best way that presents itself to my thoughts is, that a speedy course be taken to settle his Majesty's Government among us, there yet being none but Combinations because the several Patents upon the River are thought to comprise no Commissions for jurisdiction.

Now, my Lord [Burdett concluded], for the particular; whether to send one from England with Commission, or to send Commission to some one here, or to grant power of incorporation and election, that I humbly submit to your Grace's great wisdom. For the past year and this current, the helm hath been put into my hand by the principal Plantations, but I perceive no great strength nor safety in the course we steer; his Majesty's authority is that which will prevail for the advancement of both sorts of Regiment and laws ecclesiastical and temporal; moreover, my Lord, if the River of Piscataqua were appointed for the port of discharge for ships bringing passengers, in case any be permitted, it would much

strengthen the Loyal party, for many that are brought to Massachusetts would sit down with us but for the difficulty of removal.[8]

Several conclusions may be deduced from that letter. It is clear Burdett had an animus against the Massachusetts rulers, and that he intended to give Laud an unfavourable opinion of their conduct. It is also obvious that the Massachusetts magistrates were exerting all their influence to bring the Piscataqua region within their jurisdiction and under their authority. Nor will it escape the notice of the reader that Burdett angled very astutely to have Laud appoint him to the chief authority in the plantation. In truth, however, his implication that at the time he wrote "the helm" was still in his hands, was false. He had been superseded by Underhill, who had been elected Governor of Dover by the November of 1638 at the latest.

But it is necessary to return to Winthrop's warning letter. His other addressees were Captain Thomas Wiggin and Edward Hilton. The latter was an early and prominent settler; the former, as the agent of some patentees, had acted as chief magistrate until ousted by Burdett. Now, Winthrop's warning to these three was to the effect that the Massachusetts authorities intended, as he declared, to *"survey our utmost limits, and make use of them."* But why? For what reason did the Governor of Massachusetts, in obedience to an "order of the last General Court," choose that particular time to announce the resolve of Massachusetts to extend its jurisdiction over the Piscataqua country? The answer is plain. The Bay magistrates made it clear how "ill it would relish if they

[8] State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660, 283-4.

should advance Captain Underhill, whom we had thrust out." To this record in his Journal, Winthrop was obliged to add a postscript of failure: "Piscataqua men had chosen him their Governor before the letter came to them."[9] There is every reason to believe, however, that the men of Piscataqua would not have chosen differently had Winthrop's letter arrived before the election. The majority of the settlers in that region were not greatly enamoured of Massachusetts methods.

So far as Burdett was concerned, Winthrop's epistolary protest was wasted labour. He not merely returned a "scornful answer"—hoping, doubtless, that his letter to Laud would involve the Bay people in serious trouble; but his power was gone. "The helm" was now in Underhill's hands.

And it was safe there, so far as any just claims of Massachusetts were concerned. For, let it be stated with all emphasis, Winthrop had grievously misjudged Underhill. The Governor of Massachusetts made the mistake of inferring that because he had been banished, Underhill would therefore harbour animosity against the Boston magistrates and use his influence to thwart all their plans for an extension of their jurisdiction. But he had no such malice in his nature. As he had corrected Vincent's misstatement with a kindly excuse, so in his policy with regard to Massachusetts he never allowed personal wrongs to warp his judgment. He deserved Whittier's tribute:

> And he judged therein as a just man should;
> His words were wise and his rule was good;
> He coveted not his neighbour's land,
> From the holding of bribes he shook his hand:

[9] *Winthrop's Journal*, ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 280, 281.

THE REVEREND HANSERD KNOLLIS

THE REVEREND HANSERD KNOLLIS

And through the camps of the heathen ran
A wholesome fear of the valiant man.

One of the earliest proofs of Underhill's impartiality in relation to the territorial ambitions of Massachusetts was furnished by the fact that, as he quickly guessed the real nature of Burdett, he refused to work with him, and supplanted him as Governor. Had he harboured any desire for revenge, he would undoubtedly have agreed with the plans of such a professed enemy of Massachusetts. That Burdett realized it was hopeless to count upon Underhill's support is clear from the fact that he soon left the district.

With Burdett's departure, Dover was left without a minister. The omission, however, was quickly supplied. Among the newcomers who reached Boston late in the July of 1638 was a preacher named Hanserd Knollys.[10] Educated for and ordained to the ministry of the Church of England, he had adopted Puritanical if not Separatistic principles, and had been compelled to seek a haven in New England. As he reached Boston, however, ere the Antinomian controversy had grown cold, and while the orthodoxy of all newcomers was suspect, he quickly discovered or was made to realize that he must not expect to find a spiritual home in the Bay colony; and as banished "heretics" were seeking refuge in the Piscataqua country, he decided to try his fortune there. It is not improbable, indeed, that Knollys made the journey thither

[10] Those students of early New England history who have derived their knowledge of Hanserd Knollys solely from Winthrop are liable to be misled as to the character of that divine. The charges brought against him by the Governor have no known corroboration. Winthrop's opinion of a man's morality was too often coloured by his disagreement with his theology. The Baptists of England so highly honoured the memory of this minister that they founded a Hanserd Knollys Society for the reprinting of early Baptist writings.

with Underhill and Morris, for tradition avers that he reached the river settlement in the company of the former.

His arrival was opportune. And although Underhill had been banished from Boston and Knollys suspected by the church there, they are credited with at once proceeding with the organization of a religious body on the Puritanical and Congregational principles favoured by the orthodox of Massachusetts.[11] That was a notable concession to the doctrines prevailing at the Bay, for many of the Piscataqua settlers were still attached to the Prayer-Book and some of the ceremonies of the Church of England. That division of opinion, indeed, was to be the cause of some unfortunate dissensions during Underhill's governorship.

As Exeter was within easy distance of Dover, Underhill could frequently enjoy Wheelwright's company; and there was one important matter in which they were closely associated. In the spring after he had settled by the Squamscott, Wheelwright and a few friends negotiated with the Indian chiefs of the district for the purchase of a considerable tract of land, intending to divide it into homestead lots. As a matter of courtesy, they informed the Massachusetts magistrates of their action, advising them of the purpose they had in view unless their neighbours could show a better title to the land in question. That consideration was wasted. The Bay folk replied that such conduct was against "good neighbourhood and common honesty"! And Wheelwright and his friends were roundly informed that the land belonged to Massachusetts, and that the Indians had no title to more ground than they could cultivate. That blind worship

[11] John Scales, *History of Dover, N. H.*, I, 145.

of "God Land" had an ignominious sequel. Investigation proved that the debated territory was outside the Massachusetts patent, and the magistrates were obliged to relinquish their pretensions. Not that, in the meantime, Wheelwright had paid any heed to the fulminations from Boston. He had proceeded with his preparations for the drafting of a definitive deed with the Indians, of which, in the April of 1639, Underhill was a witness. A few months earlier, the First Church in Boston, after some querulous delays, was gracious enough to grant letters of dismission to Wheelwright, Richard Morris, and seven others "unto the Church of Christ at the falls of Piscataqua [Exeter] if they be rightly gathered and ordered." Two months later, when Wheelwright's wife Mary and Morris' wife Leonora were to be dismissed to the same society, the qualifying phrase was omitted. The omission is interesting in view of the fact that in the August of 1641 Underhill and his wife were given letters of recommendation to the Exeter church.

Underhill's tenure of the governorship of Dover was distinguished by three memorable episodes: the movement in favour of union with Massachusetts; an imbroglio occasioned by an outspoken letter written by Hanserd Knollys; and a serious collision between the two religious parties of the settlement.

Of these, the first-named had the most serious issues for Underhill. As has already been indicated, notwithstanding his personal grievance against the Bay colony, he was really in favour of the union to which Winthrop and his colleagues attached so much importance. His support of such a policy was a proof of his magnanimous nature. It was not merely a case of heaping coals of fire

on his enemy's head, but it showed that he regarded the greater good as of more moment than his personal gain; for as soon as the Piscataqua towns were brought within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, his sentence of banishment would once more become effective and compel him to seek another home.[12] But the personal equation was not allowed to warp his judgment. He was clearly of the opinion that in the experimental state of the settlements, with their scanty population and limited resources, it was essential they should have the support of the Bay colony.

But, little as he was trained in statecraft, he saw more distinctly than the Massachusetts magistrates that the union of the Piscataqua townships with their powerful neighbour called for patience and diplomacy. Winthrop and his associates were in a hurry; they were as keenly conscious as Burdett of the strategic value of the Piscataqua River; their one dread was that they might be forestalled by Gorges' or Mason's heirs. But Underhill knew that haste would be fatal. The Piscataqua settlers were as stubborn and independent as the people of the Bay; and the problem was further complicated by those religious dissensions which divided them into Congregationalists and adherents of some form of Episcopacy.

Winthrop's brief account of the opening of negotiations between Dover and Massachusetts betrays an eagerness to hurry matters to a speedy conclusion.[13] In fact, the Bay magistrates were so confident they had achieved their end that the treaty was at once ratified and sealed. But the Dover representatives wisely insisted upon a proviso to

[12] Such a result was actually experienced by Wheelwright. When Exeter was brought within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and his banishment thus became effective over a larger area, he removed to the province of Maine.

[13] *Winthrop's Journal,* ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 320.

the effect that if "the people did not assent" to the agreement, all the proceedings were to be regarded as cancelled. And that was what happened in connection with the negotiations of the fall of 1639.

It was at that juncture Underhill addressed an admirable letter to Winthrop and the Deputy Governor, Thomas Dudley. Drawing once more on his Biblical lore, he appositely took as his text the parable of the fig tree: "Jesus Christ did wait; and God his Father did dig and delve about the barren fig tree, before he would cast it off." Personally, he had more urgent reasons to be impatient than the Bay magistrates, for he was "daily abused by malicious tongues," and frequently threatened with physical violence by the opponents of union. The latter, Underhill met in a soldierly way. One Wannerton, reviling him to his face, he promptly silenced by drawing his sword; another, Pickering by name, so "misdemeaned himself as he is likely to lie by the heels this two months." Less violent dissentients, however, had to be dealt with differently; hence his appeal for patience. "Serious protestations are made to prejudice us," Underhill assured his correspondents, "in case we give you interest in this River." Then he added:

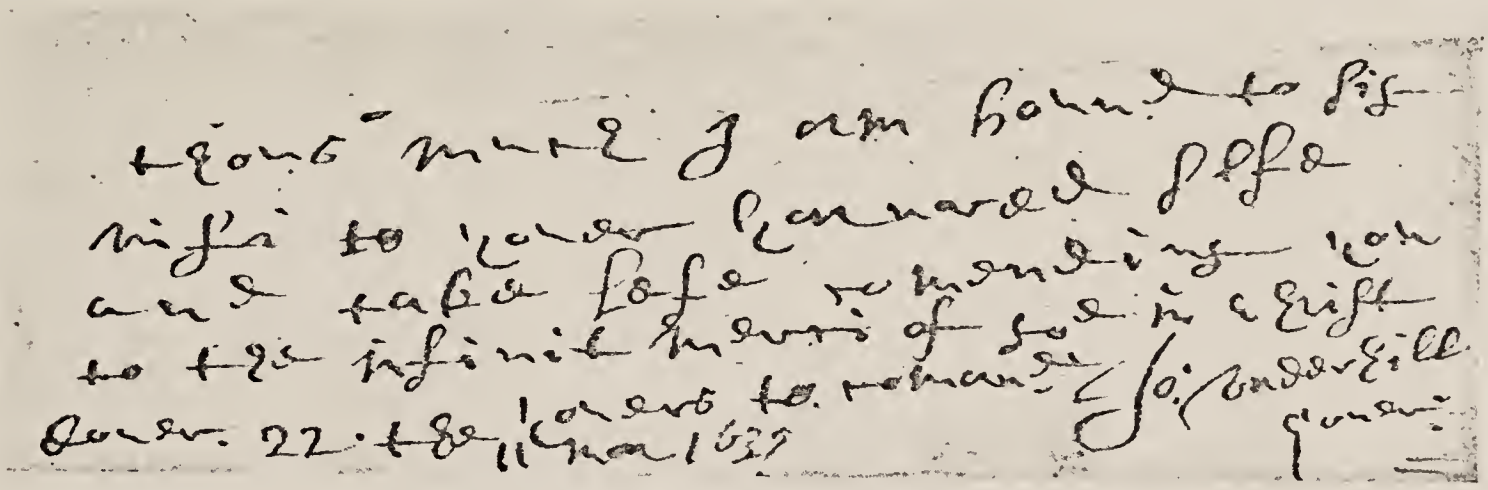
When the work of the Lord is done, you shall, I trust, have all these clamours to cease with satisfaction to God's people. Let justice and mercy be joined. . . . By this bearer I am requested to have a full answer under your own hands, that such persons as we shall send to treat with your State may have free egress and regress without molestation. Your letter sent to Mr. Knollys we have seen, and both of us laboured to advance the work, which we hope will redound to the glory of God and suppressing the wicked among us; but we are private in our pro-

ceeding to a conclusion, and so desire you: for we are threatened. You may please to suggest your will to this bearer; you will find him tractable. We shall not rest until this work be finished, and yourselves in power here.[14]

Unfortunately, Underhill's difficulties were soon to be enhanced by the colleague—Hanserd Knollys—of whose good faith he had so recently assured Winthrop. The trouble owed its origin to a letter Knollys had sent to England. It was probably written either when he was refused permission to remain in Boston, or in the early days of his sojourn at Dover, when he would naturally be incensed against the intolerance of the orthodox. According to Winthrop's summary of the letter, Knollys had "slandered" the Massachusetts government, had declared it was "worse than the High Commission," and that in New England there was nothing but oppression, and "not so much as a face of religion." As Dr. J. K. Hosmer has candidly admitted, Knollys "had grounds for criticism"; but such a charitable view was foreign to the lese majesty of early Massachusetts.

Of course a copy of this truthful but indiscreet letter was promptly sent to Winthrop by his secret intelligence agents in England. Then the storm burst. And Underhill, as Governor of the community to which the delinquent belonged, was quickly involved in its reaction. His position was difficult. Although he must have agreed with the purport of the offending letter, he realized that the truth is not always convenient. Knollys was a friend, and a helper in opposing the intrigues of the rival party; but all those considerations did not deter him from shap-

[14] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 178-179.



SIGNATURE OF CAPTAIN JOHN UNDERHILL SIGNING AS GOVERNOR, FROM A LETTER WRITTEN TO GOVERNOR WINTHROP IN 1639

Original in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society

ing his conduct in such a manner as should have convinced the Bay people of his good faith.

When the charge against Knollys was formulated, Underhill summoned a meeting of the General Court at Dover, at the same time instructing the marshal to require Knollys to attend. On his being questioned as to the letter of which complaint had been made, he stated he had no copy of it, but volunteered to read to the Court the letter he had received from the Governor of Massachusetts, in which the offensive passages were quoted. When Underhill asked what answer he could give to that indictment, Knollys explained that he had written several apologetic letters to Winthrop, and had also offered to go to Boston to express his regret and penitence in person. To that, however, Underhill rejoined that the matter was one to be decided upon, not in the Massachusetts Court, but in their own assembly, adding that a statement of the proceedings at Dover should be sent to the Bay. Underhill and his assistants, indeed, were so anxious to vindicate the authority of their own Court that they charged Knollys not to go to Boston or write thither without their consent. But Knollys pleaded so earnestly to be allowed to write to express his regret for having made "an accusation of the brethren," that permission was given him to do so, on the condition that he read to Underhill the letter he proposed to send.[15]

Underhill faithfully kept his promise to report the Dover proceedings to Massachusetts, doing so in a letter

[15] These details are derived from the long and penitential letter which Knollys addressed to Winthrop from Dover on the 21st of January, 1640. (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 5th Series, I, 280-283.) They are of great interest because they provide us with an actual narrative depicting Underhill exercising his office as Governor of Dover.

to Winthrop, in which he requested to be favoured with a copy of Knollys' offending document. While assuring the Governor of Massachusetts that he and his colleagues had called Knollys to account, "as we were bound," they also undertook to "deal more thoroughly with him" when they were better informed. At the same time Underhill made an attempt to mitigate the anger of the Bay magistrates by assuring them that Knollys was "ingenuous to confess his fault, and give satisfaction not only to us, but to your whole State."[16]

But the magistrates of Massachusetts refused to be appeased. The prompt proceedings of the General Court at Dover, Knollys' penitential letters, and Underhill's undertaking as Governor, were ineffective to allay the suspicions and placate the animosity of Winthrop and his colleagues. There was a reason for this inexplicable behaviour which does not appear on the surface. An intrigue was being developed in the Piscataqua townships, which had its inspiration in the religious divisions of the settlers.

"I think," John Haynes confessed to Roger Williams, "that the most wise God hath provided and cut out this part of his world for a refuge and receptacle for all sorts of consciences." Certainly, Piscataqua was such a refuge. And among those who had sought a haven and been welcomed there was a Reverend Thomas Larkham, who, on landing in New England, had evidently decided that the church regime of Boston was too strait for his liking. As he appeared to have means, and undoubtedly possessed an ingratiating manner and a persuasive tongue, he was soon established as Knollys' colleague in the Dover

[16] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 179, 180.

church. For a time, he dissembled the fact that his sympathies were more with the ceremonies of the Church of England than with the austere ordinances of the rigid Puritans.

Yet it was not long ere the Episcopalians of Piscataqua recognized that Larkham was a possible leader in their opposition to Underhill and Knollys and all who were in favour of the union with Massachusetts. The Piscataqua Episcopalians were naturally opposed to the Puritans of the Bay; they knew that if they were brought under the rule of the latter, their religious observances would be forbidden. Obviously, then, their policy was to undermine Underhill's influence on the River and poison the minds of the magistrates at the Bay.

Larkham eagerly joined in the conspiracy. And the result was that on an early day of the March of 1640 a document signed by himself, Thomas Roberts, and twenty-three others, was received in Boston, either by Dudley or Winthrop. The paper was a malicious indictment of Underhill, but so craftily worded as to lead the Massachusetts magistrates to believe that the signers were not really averse to coming under their jurisdiction if they were at liberty to do so. Indeed, the conspirators flattered the Bay authorities in a manner which should have awakened their suspicions. Larkham and his supporters assured the "brethren of Massachusetts Bay" that they did "very well approve" of their "judicious ways," that when the Lord directed them they would "labour more to satisfy" them, that they desired their prayers, etc.; but they pleaded that until the patentees gave them liberty and released them from their engagements, they might not be enforced to "sin greatly" by changing their alle-

giance. All that was the sugar-coating of the bitter core. Underhill had informed the Massachusetts magistrates that the people of Dover were willing to submit to their government: he spoke falsely. Underhill had gone from house to house to obtain signatures to a paper in favour of the union: some of those signers had "this day utterly protested against their own act." Underhill, in fine, had raised "such a mutiny" in their midst that if they did not take action to arrest it there would be "effusion of blood." [17]

Such was the snare laid by Larkham and Roberts and their followers for the magistrates at the Bay. And they allowed themselves to become so entangled therein as to inflict another injustice on Underhill.

All the irrefragable proofs he had given of his good faith were regarded as worthless. His refusal to work with Burdett was forgotten. His assurance that he would not rest until the union was effected was an idle tale. His prompt dealing with Knollys' offence was an airy nothing. Even in those very March days of 1640 Underhill was giving further evidence of his sincerity. An evil-doer named Reuben Guppy had absconded from Boston to Acomenticus, and Endicott had written to Underhill to ask if he knew his whereabouts, and, in that case, to procure his return. Underhill at once forwarded the letter to the right quarter.[18] But that faithful service would have counted for nothing had it been known in those days when the Bay people would not believe any good of their banished Captain.

Even while the Larkham-Roberts conspiracy was in-

[17] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XXIII, 161-162.
[18] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 336-337.

cubating, Underhill had a suspicion that some untoward influence was at work. It was impossible to account otherwise for the singular attitude of the Massachusetts magistrates. Hence he came to the decision that the wisest course would be to visit Boston and discuss everything in person. As he was under the ban of banishment, however, he could not do that without special permission. Such a permission he applied for. The evidence is on the old records,[19] in the form of a "Letter of Public Assurance," which states that the document was issued "at the earnest request of Captain Underhill."

Now, the incredible climax of this unexampled episode was that, visiting Boston on his own initiative, Underhill's presence at the Bay was taken advantage of to inflict on him the most rigorous measure of church discipline! And that, be it remembered, for an offence which had been alleged against him at the time of his banishment eighteen months earlier.

By the edict of the General Court of the September of 1638, the civil power of Massachusetts had imposed its extreme punishment for a political delinquency, such as Underhill's support of the Wheelwright petition was held to be. There was nothing more the magistrates could do. But there existed a vindictive desire to proceed to more severe punishment. Despite all proofs to the contrary, the Bay authorities were convinced that Underhill was the chief obstacle to the extension of their jurisdiction over the Piscataqua region. For that, he must be made to suffer.

But how? By the power of the church. Hence the entry on the records of the First Church of Boston, to

[19] Suffolk Deeds, Vol. I.

the effect that, on the 5th day of March, 1640, "Our brother Captain Underhill was in public congregation by our Pastor, in the name of the Lord and of the church, excommunicated." Six months later, however, another entry was made in those First Church records in these words: "Whereas our brother Captain John Underhill, on the 5th day of the 1st month 1640, was cast out of the church for divers scandals he had fallen into, he is this day, upon his public penitential acknowledgment of them all, received again into the fellowship of the church."

Excommunicated and restored, cast out and received, segregated and included, repudiated and embraced, a heathen and a brother—and all within six months! And for an offence alleged to have been committed eighteen months earlier. Why that long delay of a year and a half, and then recession in half a year? What did it mean? There is only one answer: political expediency, even a form of "low cunning," was the cause of those amazing proceedings. When the Bay magistrates disbelieved in Underhill's good faith, they persuaded the church to cast him out: when they were at last convinced that they had wronged him, he was received into "fellowship" again. The conclusion is inevitable and irresistible, that if there had been no question of the extension of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, if the "brethren of the Bay" had not been such zealous devotees of "God Land," the "divers scandals" attributed to Underhill would never have emerged in New England history.[20]

[20] Winthrop is the sole authority for those charges, and the details are so easily accessible (*Winthrop's Journal,* edited by J. K. Hosmer, I, 276, 277, 280, 295, 329; II, 12, 13) that there is no necessity to repeat them here. As to the "confession" attributed to Underhill, upon which so many writers have expatiated with more zest than knowledge, it must be obvious to the attentive reader that the confessor was adapting himself to his audience, and using the

When Underhill reached Boston, he was received as a welcome guest in the home of Edward Gibbons, one of his trusted lieutenants of earlier and happier days. During the years which had elapsed since he was fined for "abusing himself disorderly by drinking too much strong drink," Gibbons had sobered in more than an alcoholic sense, and had been too cautious or practical to become involved in the Antinomian controversy; but he would be sufficiently informed in Boston opinion to be able to enlighten his guest as to the matter which was causing him so much perplexity. Underhill was utterly bewildered by what he heard. And he was wounded by the treatment he received. Winthrop, apparently, refused to see him. Wild rumours and grievous charges were in common circulation. The incredible suspicions of the magistrates and the malice of the Larkham-Roberts statement were bearing a sinister harvest.

All Underhill could do was to write to Winthrop. He addressed the letter from the home of Gibbons, and every sentence betrays the mental stress under which it was penned. He imagined an explanation of his untoward experiences such as should have won the approval of the Puritan mind. "To hear the rumours and flying reports gone out against me," he wrote, "are not so much amazing

language expected for the occasion. It is pertinent, too, to remember that the first Governor of Massachusetts was singularly prone to believe ill of those whose religious opinions did not harmonize with his own, just as he was careful to avoid any comment on the lapses of the orthodox. As to the latter, the case of the Rev. Hugh Peters is a typical example. Although the minister of Salem became entangled with two women at the same time, and appealed to Winthrop for his advice, the latter did not make the least allusion in his Journal to a scandal which greatly exercised the members of the Salem church. (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 199.) Again, in his remarks about the Antinomians, Winthrop manifested such a prurient interest for repulsive details that the latest editor of his Journal, Dr. J. K. Hosmer, expurgated some of them with the apology that they only showed "how far bigotry could carry a mind naturally noble and magnanimous" (Hosmer, *op. cit.*, I, 277).

to me, because it is Satan's time, now or never, to wage war against my soul, and prevent my reconciliation with God's people by his false alarms." And then, addressing himself directly to the unjustifiable suspicions of the magistrates and the falsehoods of the Larkham-Roberts statement, he made an earnest appeal to Winthrop: "Sir, be pleased to hear me in the matters of Exeter and Dover, and let not malice and fair words take place in the bosom of the wise. I know it doth not yet with yourself. I am troubled that such hard reports should go out against me, and myself not thoroughly understand men's displeasure, till this morning. I came simply to satisfy the church, not thinking to have heard such hard reports against me, though some small inkling I had before: and therefore was advised to bring with me that which will both satisfy yourself and the church, in those late rumours. I expect the mind of God at your leisure in this matter, I request of you." [21]

But the appeal was in vain. When Underhill left Boston again late in the April of 1640, he was an excommunicated as well as a banished man. Of course he had no prevision that his justification was not to be long delayed. All he was certain of for the time was, that he had failed in his mission. And when he reached Dover once more, he learnt that the Larkham party, taking advantage of his absence, had chosen Thomas Roberts to supplant him in the governorship.

Ere many months had passed, however, Underhill's star was in the ascendant. The explanation was that his cause was gradually taken up and favoured by Hugh Peters. Perhaps the minister of Salem was influenced

[21] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 180, 181.

by his own uncomfortable experience in "divers scandals" which had not been proclaimed from the house-tops; but of course his opinion would be conclusive with the "brethren of the Bay." To win the suffrages of Peters was to achieve the approval of Winthrop, and to gain the favour of the Governor ensured the good-will of the magistrates.

Exactly how Peters came to assume the rôle of mediator between the Underhill party at Dover and the authorities in Boston, does not appear: perhaps it was at Winthrop's suggestion; or perhaps it was because the emissaries from Dover made it a rule to visit Salem on their way to the Bay and consult the influential minister of that town. Hanserd Knollys was one who paid such a visit; and Peters, in sending him on his way with a letter to Winthrop, commended him to his friend as one for whom he desired his "wonted careful tenderness, to which we are invited by all the three parables in Luke fifteen." It is clear from a subsequent passage in the same letter that Knollys had consulted Peters on the vexed question of the inclusion of the Piscataqua region within the Massachusetts boundaries, for the minister of Salem continued: "I shall be ready to attend your mind for my coming over about it at any time, and I suppose it were not amiss that I should be there when he [Knollys] speaks with the ministers, unless he be referred to us this way, which I should think far better for the man. But the business will be to satisfy the State, which how it will be before a General Court I cannot tell. I think despatch will be comfortable for him. Captain Underhill intends likewise to come." [22]

[22] *Ibid.*, Series, VI, 103, 104.

Magical indeed was the effect of Peters' intervention and advocacy. And a little later he was to discover the worthlessness of Thomas Larkham, clinching his verdict on that adventurer with the reflection, "What are men!" But meanwhile he was able to convince the Massachusetts magistrates how grievously they had misjudged Underhill. The result has already been partially indicated in that record of the First Church of Boston, which reinstated him in full fellowship on the 3rd of September, 1640; but there was a sequel in the minutes of the General Court of the 7th of October, setting forth that that assembly was "freely reconciled to him in Christian love," but suspending the question of his banishment for later consideration.[23] Winthrop had still to make the *amende honorable,* but it was not long to be delayed.

Although no longer Governor of Dover, Underhill was not indifferent to the welfare and good order of the township. A proof of that fact has generally been overlooked, owing to the supposed disappearance of a list of names. Several original authorities place on record the text of the "Combination to establish a form of Government" which was agreed to late in the October of 1640; but it is usually stated that, apart from three signatures, the names of those in favour of its provisions have been lost. The omission, however, is supplied by a document in the State archives of England,[24] from which it appears that Underhill and Knollys approved of the Combination equally with Larkham and Roberts.

Indeed, despite the underhand manner in which they had been treated by the Episcopalian party, for some

[23] Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, I, 301.
[24] Public Record Office: N. H. Papers, XLVII.

months Underhill and Knollys lived in harmony with them. As Larkham admitted, they "went on together lovingly awhile"; the rift came, he asserted, when his "poor brother began to bawl about the prime evidence, etc., under the name of Legalists, to fire the comfort and shake the faith of such poor weak ones, as yet might be possessed of the faith of Christ." Such, in part, was the excuse Larkham tendered in a long and rambling letter to Winthrop,[25] adding, "the controversy is not new, you know." It was not,—as Winthrop had good cause to know. Though expressed in different jargon, here was the old heresy of Antinomianism transferred from the Bay to the banks of the Piscataqua. Yet with a difference; for fundamentally it was Episcopacy versus Congregationalism which divided the Dover people into hostile camps.

Two contemporary accounts of the climax of the contention have survived: one from the partial pen of Larkham, which deals with the clash of words; the other from the judicial pen of lawyer Thomas Lechford, which gives a lively picture of the physical affray.

Larkham, after narrating that Knollys averred that his doctrine was "of Christ" and would stand when that of his opponent had fallen, and that he would "preach it, and preach it again," continued his account in these words: "There was a church meeting; I craved satisfaction, he instead thereof sits down and begins a complaint, consisting of many branches, which he read out of a paper, and so goes to a table and craves mine answer, and said he would write it. I, somewhat amazed to see such wild doings, spake what the church disliked not,

[25] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 5th Series, I, 313-317.

and so we spent one whole day which was the fifth day of the week, putting off what was further to be done unto the Sabbath, intending after the evening exercise; but he gave forth words that he would deal with one of our magistrates, and me first of all, before any exercise should go on, and indeed was ready in the meeting-house so to do, in a marvellous stiff way, had not the magistrates interposed. Whereupon, protesting against the church, he went out and some two or three more, the rest staying. We went on with God's worship, as God enabled, appointing the next whole day for a meeting, mixed of the church and also the magistrates as magistrates, which day being spent until evening, our magistrates were pleased to enjoin him silence, until some course were taken to appease these hurly-burlies." [26]

Lechford, who published his account in London within a year of the denouement of the controversy, is more concrete in his explanation of the root differences between the two parties.

They two [he wrote, meaning Larkham and Knollys] fell out about baptizing children, receiving of members, burial of the dead; and the contention was so sharp, Master Knollys and his party rose up, and excommunicated Master Larkham, and some that held with him: and further, Master Larkham flying to the magistrates, Master Knollys and a Captain [Underhill] raised arms, and expected help from the Bay; Master Knollys going before the troop with a Bible upon a pole's top, and he, or some of his party giving forth, that their side were Scots, and the other English. Whereupon the gentlemen of Sir Ferdinando Gorges's plantation came in, and kept Court with the magistrates of Piscataqua (who have

[26] *Ibid.*, 315, 316.

also a Patent) being weak themselves. And they fined all those that were in arms, for a riot, by indictment, jury, and verdict, formally. Nine of them were censured to be whipped, but that was spared. Master Knollys and the Captain, their leaders, were fined £100 apiece, which they were not able to pay. To this broil came Master Peters of Salem, and there gave his opinion, that the said excommunication was a nullity.[27]

One significant incident of that religious brawl was omitted by or unknown to Lechford. Dr. Belknap, in his history of the Dover church, asserted that when Larkham saw his rivals "thus provided," with Underhill in command, "he withdrew his party, and went no further." That discretion was distinctly the better part of valour that day, and undoubtedly prevented that "effusion of blood" of which the Larkham-Roberts party had so wholesome a fear.

Winthrop's comment on this commotion and his explanation of its origin are notable. He admitted that the "more religious" of the town adhered to Knollys; that Hugh Peters, as mediator, fully exonerated Underhill; and then he added these memorable words: *"The cause of this eager persecution of Captain Underhill was, because he had procured a good part of the inhabitants there to offer themselves again to the government of Massachusetts."* [28]

At last! For more than two years the Governor of Massachusetts had obdurately ignored every evidence of Underhill's good faith; and the penalty Underhill had been made to pay for that blindness was the exploitation and magnification of an offence which had else been

[27] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III, 98, 99.
[28] *Winthrop's Journal*, ed. J. K. Hosmer, II, 28.

buried in oblivion. And now Winthrop had to confess, to the pages of his Journal, that he had woefully misjudged the man, and admit that all the disturbance on the Piscataqua was due to Underhill's loyalty to his old friends at the Bay. No wonder the First Church of Boston hastened to restore him to its fellowship, and the General Court to profess a reconciliation "in Christian love." Soon thereafter, too, the records of the General Court of Massachusetts were engrossed with this edict: "The order for the banishment of Captain Underhill is repealed." [29]

But all that long-delayed expiation came too late. Under more fortunate conditions, and if the magistrates of the Bay had not been so wilfully blind and obstinate and vindictive, Underhill's name might have been renowned in New Hampshire history. If he did not possess those qualities which were perhaps necessary in the founding of the Massachusetts colony, namely, a rigid intolerance and a subservience to expediency, he was magnanimous and of a charitable spirit, and eminently fitted to hold "the helm" of a pioneer settlement. His prowess as a soldier, too, would have prompted him to plan the colony's defences in a manner which would have mitigated the Indian assaults of later years. But destiny had ordered events otherwise. The second phase of his life-work was to be developed elsewhere.

Yet for a few months he appears to have entertained the hope of continuing to dwell in the Piscataqua country. Not in Dover; pleasant habitation there had become impossible. But there was Exeter, where he would have Wheelwright's sympathetic friendship. So on the 22nd

[29] Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, I, 329.

day of the August of 1641 an entry was made in the records of the First Church of Boston to this effect: "Our brother Captain John Underhill, and our sister Helena, his wife, were this day granted letters of recommendation to the Church at Exeter." He had begun his exile at Exeter; perhaps it might be completed by the banks of the Squamscott.

A few weeks undeceived him. In that small community, as he had realized in the fall of 1638, there was still no scope for his soldierly talents; and his training and experience had not qualified him for sole reliance on any other occupation.

In his renewed perplexity, then, as to means of livelihood, Underhill decided to visit Boston again, hoping, perhaps, that now his excommunication had been cancelled and his banishment repealed, he might be restored to his former military position. In that, however, he was fated to encounter a bitter disappointment. And, in addition, an experience befell him which must have exhausted even his patience with the Puritans of the Bay.

Some idea of the nature of that experience may be divined from this curt entry in the records of the General Court for the 7th of September, 1641: "Captain Underhill, being indicted upon proclamation, no witnesses coming in, he was acquitted."

To all who trace the sequence of Underhill's career in the official minutes, that entry is as staggering as the experience it narrates must have been to him. What new intrigue against his peace had been devised? His excommunication had been obliterated; he had been reconciled to the civil power "in Christian love"; his

banishment had been repealed by the General Court. What was the meaning of this indictment?

Happily, Winthrop committed to his Journal this explanation of the mystery:

> Captain Underhill, coming to Boston, was presently apprehended by the Governor's [30] warrant, to appear at the next Court, and bound for his good behaviour in the meantime, which was ill taken by many, seeing he did not stand presented by any man, and had been reconciled to the church and to the Court, who had remitted his sentence of banishment, and showed their willingness to have pardoned him fully, but for fear of offence. And it was held by some of the magistrates, that the Court, having reversed the sentence against him for former misdemeanours, had implicitly pardoned all other misdemeanours before that time; but to bind a man to his good behaviour, when he stands reconciled to the church and commonwealth, was certainly an error, as it was also to commit such an one, being not presented nor accused. So easily may a magistrate be misled on the right hand by the secret whisperings of such as pretend a zeal of justice and the punishment of sin. The Governor caused him to be indicted at the next Court, but he was acquitted by proclamation.[31]

Unfortunately, there is no clue to the identity of that venomous busy-body whose "secret whisperings" in

[30] Richard Bellingham, the most lugubrious of the early chief magistrates, was the person guilty of this officious conduct. Hawthorne depicts him in *The Scarlet Letter* as having an aspect "rigid and severe" and as "frost-bitten with more than autumnal age." His uxorious nature, however, appears to have retained the warmth of unregenerate early manhood. At the time he was responsible for this further injustice to Underhill, he had passed his fiftieth year, and was engaged in supplanting in the affections of a maiden of twenty—living in his own house—the suitor to whom she was contracted. He further scandalized the community by refusing to publish his banns where he lived, and performing the marriage ceremony himself! More than twenty years later, he was still so opinionated as to interfere in a matter which concerned the jurisdiction of Connecticut. (*Cf.* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 596.)

[31] *Winthrop's Journal,* ed. J. K. Hosmer, II, 41, 42.

Bellingham's too credulous ear involved the Governor in those abortive proceedings. Of course the total absence of witnesses was as much a triumph for Underhill as it was a defeat for the meddlesome Bellingham; but that it was possible for such an incident to happen must have sadly convinced the returned exile how futile it was to expect any resumption of pleasant life in Boston.

Whither, then, should he go? At one time, namely in the June of 1640, he had thoughts of making his home at Saco, the seaboard settlement in Gorges' province of Maine. Gorges' agent there, Richard Vines, recorded the incident in a letter to Winthrop. "You may please to understand," he wrote, "that whereas Captain Underhill hath been with me, and the rest of the councillors for this province, desiring here to inhabit, and enjoy the privileges of the same; we hearing of some engagements of his to the Massachusetts Bay, have thought good to acquaint you therewith, desiring to hear from you how far those his engagements do extend, that so we may know how to proceed with him therein, according to law and equity; for we desire in this and like cases to do as we would be done unto, which if you will be pleased to send us your answer herein, we shall then upon further consideration proceed accordingly."[32] Winthrop duly answered the enquiry; but as, at that time, he was wholly incredulous of Underhill's good faith, his reply was of such a nature that Vines deemed it inexpedient to encourage the prospective settler. Gorges' agent was too cautious to involve the province in any dispute with Massachusetts.

Probably Underhill was not greatly disappointed. For

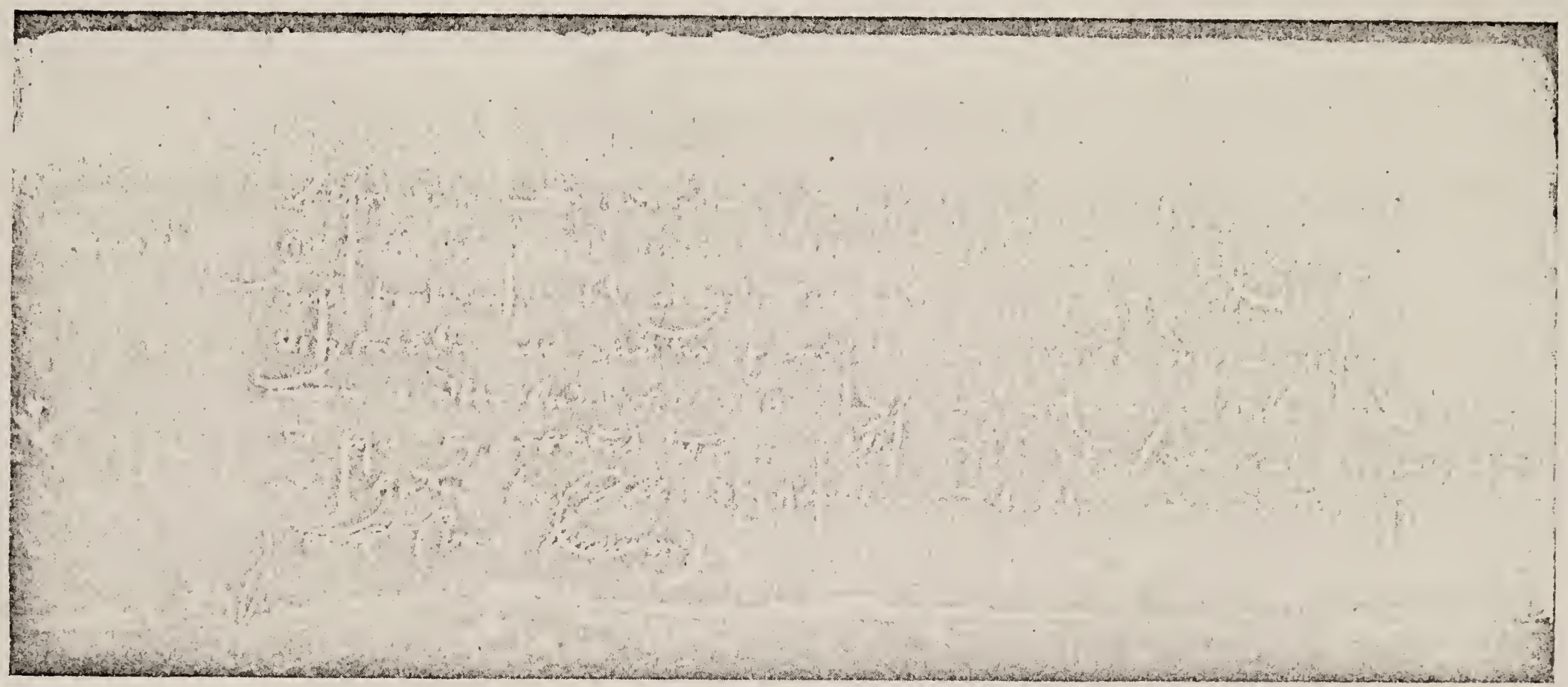
[32] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 337, 338.

there is proof that even during the peaceful days of his governorship of Dover, his desires were turning to the south rather than the north. The evidence is preserved among the Dutch archives of New York, in the form of a "Permit to Governor Underhill and a few Families to reside in New Netherland," issued by the authority of the Director, William Kieft. That document, dated the 8th of September 1639, read: "Whereas Governor Underhill, who resides toward the North, requests permission to dwell with some families here under our protection, on condition of enjoying such Freedom as the other inhabitants residing here, said Underhill's request is granted, provided that he and the people accompanying him shall take the oath of allegiance to their High Mightinesses the States General and his Highness the Prince of Orange." [33]

That Underhill should have been desirous to learn under what conditions he would be allowed to settle in New Netherland, was natural. Apart from the fact that an old comrade, Captain Daniel Patrick, had probably informed him of his intention to remove to Dutch territory, the nationality of his wife and his own experience of life in Holland must have predisposed him in favour of such a course. His Dutch wife would certainly be inclined to rejoin the folk of her own race; they both knew the Dutch language; and Underhill had had sufficient experience of the intolerance of the Massachusetts Puritans to long for the more charitable atmosphere of the Dutch colony.[34]

[33] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, XIV, 26.

[34] Apologists for the intolerance of Massachusetts have argued that liberty of conscience in the early days of the colony would have meant the "certain introduction of anarchy." To that specious plea, Charles Francis Adams made an



DUTCH RECORD OF CAPTAIN JOHN UNDERHILL'S REQUEST TO RESIDE IN NEW AMSTERDAM, SEPTEMBER 8, 1639

Yet Underhill did not hasten to change his allegiance. He waited—always in hope. His patience under wrongs and misrepresentations was amazing. But the insult of the Bellingham arrest convinced him at last that there was no abiding-place for him within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. His experiences during the Pequot campaign had made him acquainted with the attractions of the Connecticut country; his eulogy of its "very good soil" and "good meadow" and "divers sorts of good wood" will be recalled; and there was the further inducement that in those parts the gentle influence of the tolerant younger Winthrop could be counted upon. Hence he appears to have been divided between Connecticut and New Netherland.

In those anxious days of indecision, he paid a visit to New Amsterdam, and from thence he wrote a letter which once had record among the royal archives at The Hague. This was a report to the States General of the business transacted, on March 3rd, 1642, by the Assembly of Nineteen of the West India Company at Amsterdam, which stated that among the letters laid before that meeting was one "from John van der hil, from New Netherland, dated 6th January, 1642."

As there is no other record of that letter, and as the document itself has disappeared, it can only be surmised that its contents may have been akin to Underhill's earlier application to Kieft, or that it had some connection with

unanswerable rejoinder. "If," he wrote, "full religious toleration worked well in Holland in the sixteenth century and during internecine strife, as history shows and all admit, why must it necessarily in the seventeenth century have proved the 'certain introduction of anarchy' in peaceful Massachusetts? Roger Williams asked the same question of John Cotton just two centuries and a half ago, as I ask it now. It was not answered then; it remains unanswered yet." (Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2nd Series, VIII, 411.)

the transaction on which he was engaged in the January of 1642.

What that transaction was is narrated in a lease of a plantation on Long Island which was recorded in the following terms:

Before me, Cornelis van Tienhoven, resident secretary in New Netherland for the General Incorporated West India Company, appeared Mr. John Underhill, who acknowledged in the presence of the underwritten witnesses to have leased from Mr. Andries Hudde his present house and plantation situate on the Flatland near Keskaechqueren, on the condition and terms underwritten, to wit:

Mr. John Underhill shall have the use of the house and tobacco house and may cultivate the land which is fenced and unfenced for two consecutive years, beginning the first of May 1642 and ending the first of May 1644, or if it suit said Underhill to take possession before the first of May next the term of the lease shall commence whenever he shall take possession and terminate precisely two years afterwards. For all which the above named Mr. John Underhill shall pay as rent yearly to the above named Mr. Hudde, or his agent, two hundred pounds of well cured tobacco. For all which he, the lessee, pledges his person and property, movable and immovable, present and future, under submission to the court of Holland and Westfriesland and all other courts and judges, all without fraud. The lessor further promises to leave to the lessee, during the lease, the full possession of his house and tobacco house and of the land belonging to him, without in anywise obstructing him, unless he be necessitated to build elsewhere another house, that is to say, outside the present fenced land. Done the 16th of January 1642 in Fort Amsterdam, New Netherland.[35]

[35] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, XIV, 36.

In addition to Underhill's signature and the official imprimatur of Cornelis van Tienhoven, the document bore the names of Andries Hudden and Adriaen van Tienhoven. The van Tienhovens were brothers, with one of whom, Cornelis, Underhill was destined to be closely connected. Hudden was famous for his speculations in tobacco growing, and had been granted large tracts of land by Kieft on condition of supplying him with a brace of capons at Christmas. He seems to have been often in debt and other difficulties. Four years before making Underhill's acquaintance, he had been compelled to mortgage some of his property to the Dutch pastor at New Amsterdam; and later he was charged with having taken possession of Long Island land vastly in excess of the area he could cultivate. Although Hudden had imported workers and implements from Holland to tend his tobacco plantation, he was probably relieved to arrange the lease with Underhill.

One condition of that lease clearly indicates the uncertainty of Underhill's plans, the option, namely, that he might, if he desired, take possession of the property earlier than the specified date. Perhaps that proviso was suggested by the imminence of a domestic event which was recorded among the baptisms of the First Church of Boston in these words: "The 24th day of the 2nd month [April] 1642 John the son of our brother Mr. John Underhill being about 13 days old." Or it may have been that he was reluctant to decide upon a definite date because an offer had come to him from some of the settlers in the Connecticut country. All this indefiniteness of plans is reflected in Winthrop's Journal, and accounts for the error in the final words of that narrative.

Captain Underhill [so runs Winthrop's entry of the May of 1642] finding no employment here that would maintain him and his family, and having good offers made to him by the Dutch Governor (he speaking the Dutch tongue and his wife a Dutch woman), had been with the Governor, and being returned desired the church's leave to depart. The church, understanding that the English, at Stamford near the Dutch, had offered him employment and maintenance (after their ability), advised him the rather to go thither, seeing they were our countrymen and in a church state. He accepted this advice. His wife, being more forward to this, consented, and the church furnished him out, and provided a pinnace to transport him; but when he came there he changed his mind, or at least his course, and went to the Dutch.[36]

Winthrop was wrong. It would seem that his inclination to put the most unfavourable construction on Underhill's actions was so ingrained that he could not give a correct version of even so simple an incident. Underhill did go to Stamford, and reside there for some time. More reliance can doubtless be placed on the Governor's account of the action of the church; and that Underhill should at the same time have received the Stamford invitation and the generous equipment of his fellow church members at Boston, are eloquent evidence of the esteem in which he was held.

Some regret, however, was evidently latent in the words Winthrop used in taking farewell of the soldier whom he had brought to New England and who had served the colony so efficiently. "Captain," he said, "you are now departing from the great scourge of God hanging over the heads of this people and land, for God is wroth with the country and will utter his sore displeasure against it;

[36] *Winthrop's Journal*, ed. J. K. Hosmer, II, 57, 58.

but whether I may live to see it I question; but you are young enough to live to see it." Much the same valedictory words were uttered by John Cotton; and when Underhill recalled them eighteen years later,[37] he wisely reflected that perchance the judgment dreaded by the Governor of Massachusetts and the teacher of the Boston church might have been regarded as Divine displeasure at the "first sufferings and banishments" of the early years.

But the issues of those sufferings and banishments were to be shaped to a beneficent end. As Underhill sailed out of Massachusetts Bay in the May of 1642, memory must inevitably have been busy with recollections of his arrival there twelve years earlier, and of that April day five years ago when he set out on his Pequot expedition. He could not have been other than sad at parting from the friends and comrades of bygone years; and perhaps may have imagined that his best service had been accomplished. For he would have no prevision that the renown he had won as the Captain of New England was to be excelled by the fame that awaited him as the Captain of New Netherland.

[37] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 187.

CHAPTER IX

"THE SAVIOUR OF NEW NETHERLAND"

MINISTERIAL vanity having been the chief cause of the events which led to Underhill's banishment from Massachusetts, there was an ironic nemesis in the fact that it was the same weakness which had prepared him a new home. For, to sum up large issues in a few words, the primary motive of the settlement of the Connecticut territory was clerical ambition.

No inkling of such a worldly explanation is to be gleaned from Winthrop's Journal. He was too circumspect to commit to his pages any facts or reflections which might detract from the fame of favourite Puritan divines. But the Rev. William Hubbard was less discreet. During one of his infrequent abstinences of plagiarism from Winthrop's manuscript, that early historian made a remarkably candid confession. Writing about the singular movement among the settlers of Newtown and Watertown in favour of removal to Connecticut, he duly set forth the orthodox, ostensible reasons. They were stated to be lack of room for development and the accommodation of newcomers, the desirability of the Connecticut country, and the danger that if that land was not occupied by Massachusetts people, the Dutch or other adventurers would take possession.

But there was a reason not so obvious. "That which was the impulsive cause (as wise men deemed), and them-

selves did not altogether conceal," Hubbard recorded in a passage of unusual frankness, "was the strong bent of their spirits to remove out of the place where they were. Two such eminent stars, as were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, both of the first Magnitude, though of differing influence, could not well continue in one and the same orbit." [1] So convinced, indeed, was Hubbard of the truth of this explanation that he returned to it again in a later chapter of his History, affirming that the "impulsive cause" was that which "did more secretly and powerfully drive on the business. Some men," he continued, "do not well like, at least, cannot well bear, to be opposed in their judgments and notions, and thence were they not unwilling to remove from under the power, as well as out of the bounds, of the Massachusetts. Nature doth not allow two suns in one firmament, and some spirits can as ill bear an equal as others a superior." [2]

Such a theory squares with facts. For all his attractive qualities, the Rev. Thomas Hooker was obviously a man of large ambition. Arriving in Boston as a fellow voyager with John Cotton, and ordained to the church at Newtown (Cambridge) at about the same time Cotton was installed as teacher in Boston, he quickly realized that in the communities of the Bay he would be merely a secondary luminary. Like Isaac, to whom Hubbard compared him, he looked round for a Rehoboth of his own, where to dig "another well" that he might exclaim, "Now the Lord hath made room for us." Some six months after his ordination in Newtown, Hooker had obtained leave for removal; and in the July of 1634 some

[1] William Hubbard, *General History of New England*, 173.
[2] *Ibid.*, 305, 306.

of his flock had explored and reported in favour of the Connecticut River. For a time, however, the Boston magistrates opposed his departure; but he so used his great influence that by the May of 1636 he was able to set out with his congregation to found the town of Hartford.

Even so, he had been anticipated by the people of Watertown, who had begun their settlement at Wethersfield on the Connecticut River a month or two earlier. That event was another factor in the provision of a new home for Underhill.

Watertown, it must be remembered, was founded by Sir Richard Saltonstall and the emigrants who were specially connected with that prominent member of the Massachusetts Company. Although as devout a Puritan as any, Saltonstall did not allow his creed to sour his temper or make him intolerant. The letter already quoted [3] testifies to his kindly nature, and suggests the character of the influence he exerted in the Watertown community. Hence it is not surprising that the majority of the Watertown people were from the first notable for their independence and advocacy of freedom of conscience. They displayed the first quality in their protest against taxation without representation; and the second in their desire to remove from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

Two of the most prominent residents of Watertown were well known by Underhill: Daniel Patrick and Robert Feake. The former was, of course, his colleague in arms; the latter was to be his father-in-law. Apart from Saltonstall, Feake was one of the three largest land-

[3] P. 239.

owners of Watertown, where, also, Patrick had a holding of fourteen acres. These two and their families became so closely connected that in the July of 1640 they made a joint purchase of land on the borders of the Connecticut country.

Four years earlier, a considerable band of the Watertown people had migrated to the Connecticut River and founded the Wethersfield already mentioned. And Wethersfield in turn was to throw off another community owing to the fermentation of liberal opinion. For, under the leadership of the Rev. Richard Denton, some thirty of the Wethersfield people decided, in the spring of 1641, to establish a settlement of their own, which they did on the Rippowam River, giving it the name of Stamford. By that date, then, Underhill's friends, Patrick and Feake, were in possession of their land at Greenwich, a township in Dutch territory a few miles to the west. To such results had grown Hooker's ambition for a firmament of his own and Watertown's assertion of independence and freedom of thought. For it was Hooker's leadership which was the main factor in the settlement of Connecticut and its issues.

If, however, Stamford owed its existence to the disruptive force of the independence and tolerance of the Watertown example, a glance at the map will show that any practical alliance with or dependence upon the three towns on the Connecticut would have been impossible. Happily, another and well-peopled settlement was not far distant in the town of New Haven, the creation of Theophilus Eaton and the Rev. John Davenport. Founded by a goodly company in the spring of 1638, and organized into a body politic a year or so later, New

Haven naturally attracted the allegiance of Stamford. But while that union was a source of strength to the smaller community, it was also fraught with danger. For the form of government eventually adopted by New Haven was such an uncompromising copy of that of Massachusetts that those who had removed from the older colony to escape its intolerance must have been more than ever inclined to turn their thoughts to the greater freedom of New Netherland.

Of all the Massachusetts and other settlers who found new, pleasant, and profitable homes on the Connecticut River or Long Island Sound, none had a better title to that heritage than Underhill. For, as the General Court of Massachusetts admitted in its formal resolution, the destruction of the Pequots had insured "rest and safety" and opportunity for "peaceable habitation" in the Connecticut territory.

Perhaps it was some recognition of that fact which prompted the people of Stamford to invite Underhill to settle in their midst. As most of the settlers there had come from Watertown *via* Wethersfield, he was well known by the majority. With several of the leading men, indeed, his personal acquaintance was intimate. Andrew Ward, for example, had been made a freeman of Massachusetts at the General Court to which Underhill was one of the deputies from Boston; and Robert Coe had been given his franchise at the next gathering of that assembly. Ward was so highly esteemed by the Boston magistrates that he was appointed one of the commissioners who were charged with the early oversight of the new plantations on the Connecticut. That he retained his leadership on removing to Stamford is clear from the fact that when a

dispute arose between that town and Greenwich as to the boundary line between the two places, he was one of the two representatives of Stamford. The other was Robert Coe. Those who signed the agreement on behalf of the Greenwich plantation were Patrick and Feake. All these, then, formed a nucleus of Underhill's friends at Stamford; and it is probable, too, that he and the minister of the settlers, the Rev. Richard Denton, were acquainted with each other. Described as "tho' he was a little man, yet he had a great soul" and as possessing a mind which was "an Iliad in a nutshell," Denton was obviously different from the usual type of Puritan divine in that he was not hide-bound in his beliefs.

Such were some of the men at Stamford who offered Underhill "employment and maintenance." Only scanty remains of the earliest records of Stamford have survived; but there is a fragment which throws some light on the provision made for the newcomer and his family. It is expressed in the following rather disjointed manner: "October 1642, in a general town meeting was given these, following, these lots as other men, marsh and woodland, viz: capitaine Jo. Underhill, eight acres."[4] In addition there are some cryptic references which, according to the historian of the town, E. B. Huntington, imply that Underhill, owing to his military services, was not expected to contribute to the cost of the Stamford defences.

What is obvious from later records is that very shortly after his arrival at Stamford Underhill was comfortably settled in a home on his eight-acre lot. At the same time, too, he was in possession of that tobacco planta-

[4] E. B. Huntington, *History of Stamford, Conn.*, 20.

tion on Long Island which he had leased from Andries Hudden.

Underhill quickly won the confidence and esteem of his fellow townsmen and assumed his natural position as one of their leaders. All that is clearly established by the records of the General Court held at New Haven on the 5th of April, 1643, in which these entries were made:

A letter from Andrew Ward, constable at Stamford, bearing date the 3rd of this present, written in the name and by the consent of the free burgesses there, was read, wherein they appoint Captain John Underhill and Richard Gildersleeve for their deputies at the General Court. . . . Also, upon a motion made by the aforesaid deputies, it is ordered by this Court that those four men already employed in the town's occasions there, namely, Captain John Underhill, Mr. Mitchell, Andrew Ward and Robert Coe, shall (till the aforesaid General Court for elections) assist as the deputies at New Haven in council and advice for the more comely carrying on of public affairs.[5]

As one of the four men responsible for the "town's occasions" of Stamford, Underhill would naturally be interested in all affairs connected with that plantation's relations with the neighbouring settlement at Greenwich, particularly as the principal landowners there were Patrick and Feake. The boundary dispute between those two places already mentioned was indicative of the fact that the two settlements were situated in debatable territory. Indeed, any precision of frontier line was impossible under the conditions which then prevailed. The charter to which the Dutch appealed as their authority gave New Netherland a jurisdiction which embraced the whole of New England! Hence the situation was re-

[5] *Records of New Haven*, I, 85.

duced to an absurdity. As J. A. Doyle tersely remarked, "the failure of their theoretical frontier left the Dutch settlers without a frontier at all." And the aggressive English colonists were ever on the alert to push them back to the Hudson. Consequently it is credible that when Patrick affirmed he was under the impression, at the time he and Feake made their purchase of land at Greenwich, that the territory belonged to the King of England, he was testifying in good faith.

Before turning to the events which determined Patrick to transfer his allegiance to New Netherland, it is necessary to review the relations of the Patrick and Feake families, especially in view of Underhill's subsequent close connection with the latter.

Henry Winthrop, the second son of John Winthrop, and the one member of his family who seemed to have had more spirit than spirituality, married his cousin Elizabeth Fones in the April of 1629. On his departure for New England the following year, his wife remained behind because enceinte. Henry Winthrop was drowned a few days after reaching Boston. Hence when Elizabeth Winthrop arrived in New England, with her infant daughter, she was a widow. Within less than three months, however, she had become the wife of Robert Feake.

As already stated, Feake was one of the principal landowners of Watertown, and seems to have been a man of considerable means. That fact, and having married the daughter-in-law of the Governor, accounted for the high esteem in which he was held. To the General Court at which deputies were present for the first time, he was one of the Watertown representatives, and had Underhill

as one of his colleagues. On several subsequent occasions the Watertown people elected Feake as a deputy. The Records also show that his services were in frequent demand in various ways. And from the fall of 1632 he held military rank as Lieutenant to Captain Patrick. These facts, and particularly the latter and his residence at Watertown, sufficiently explain the close intimacy which developed between the families of the two men. As a Lieutenant, too, he would naturally be brought in constant intercourse with Underhill. While Patrick and Feake do not appear to have taken any prominent part in the Anne Hutchinson and Wheelwright disturbances, it seems an obvious inference from events that their sympathy was with Underhill and the "heretics." For it is significant that subsequent to the beginning of the Antinomian controversy, Feake was never returned as a deputy or employed on any public business of the community.

Altogether, then, and despite his relationship to Winthrop, perhaps it is not surprising he should have been willing to remove out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Whether the choice of Greenwich was on his initiative or that of Patrick, does not appear; but it is established that their joint purchase of land in that debatable territory was made in the July of 1640.

Soon after they had settled at Greenwich, the Dutch Director, alarmed at the incursion of English there and along the Sound, bestirred himself to secure a concession from the Indians, on the strength of which he warned Patrick and Feake that they would be expelled unless they acknowledged the sovereignty of New Netherland. For nearly two years, however, the newcomers paid no

attention to Kieft's threat. But their views were changed, or Patrick's were, when their settlement became endangered by Indian unrest. Reports were rife that the Connecticut tribes threatened to exterminate English and Dutch alike. In view of that peril, and seeing that no claim could be made upon any English community for protection, the only means by which it was possible to demand such limited defence as the Dutch could give was by recognizing the authority of the States General. So in the April of 1642 Patrick went to New Amsterdam to take the oath of loyalty to the Dutch government. He did not go alone. The record states he was accompanied by Elizabeth Feake, "on behalf of her husband, who was ill." The two affirmed that they had assumed Greenwich belonged to his Majesty of England, but were now convinced to the contrary. Hence, because of the strifes of the English and danger from the "treacherous and villainous Indians," they bound themselves by solemn oath to the Dutch, "provided we be protected against our enemies as much as possible." [6] According to the evidence of a deposition made several years later, Feake was opposed to that change of allegiance, or was incapable of participating in the proceedings. The document in question was signed by four Greenwich settlers, the signers testifying that at the date of Patrick's and Elizabeth Feake's action the Dutch Director decided that Robert Feake was "unfit to dispose of a plantation" and transferred the title to the land to Elizabeth Feake. At that time Feake was stated to be afflicted with "weakness and silliness." [7]

[6] E. B. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, I, 252.
[7] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, XIV, 116-117.

When Patrick and Elizabeth Feake paid their visit to New Amsterdam, Underhill was still in Boston, but making preparations for his departure. A month or two later he had reached the adjacent settlement of Stamford. As their dread of an Indian rising was obviously real, it may well have been they added their appeal to that of the Stamford people for the presence of the victor of the Pequots. In any event, Underhill's arrival must have been a great relief to the residents of both towns. They knew that under his direction the utmost use would be made of such forces as the feeble settlements were able to muster.

Not merely at Stamford, however, but in New Netherland itself there was grave need for the services of a competent military commander.

William Kieft, who began his tenure as Director General of New Netherland in the March of 1638, is generally admitted to have been "an easy first" in the "bad lot" of Dutch governors.[8] Even so friendly a chronicler as John R. Brodhead confessed he was "unfit" to direct the destinies of a State, denied that he was a good magistrate, and described his administrations as "disastrous."[9] The more judicial John Fiske was obliged to assert that he was "woefully lacking" in prudence and tact;[10] while the genial Diedrich Knickerbocker, to whom Kieft was "a brisk, wiry, waspish little old gentleman," summed him up as "the first potentate that introduced into this

[8] Thomas A. Janvier, *The Dutch Founding of New York*, 70.

[9] John R. Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, I, 274, 275, 431. No student of early New York history can fail to admire the untiring industry which Brodhead devoted to the transcription of documents relating to that period. While many of his reflections are highly coloured by his pro-Dutch sympathies, his scrupulous care in citing original authorities enables the impartial reader to correct his conclusions.

[10] John Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, I, 193.

land the art of fighting by proclamation, and defending a country by trumpeters and wind-mills." [11]

It was mainly owing to his reckless policy in dealing with the Indians that Kieft's administration was the "disastrous" failure admitted by his most kindly historian. And the unfortunate quality of that policy was largely due to the weakness so gently satirized by Washington Irving. He imagined it was possible to reduce Dutch, English, and Indians to obedience by publishing high-sounding proclamations; and when the folly of such a device of government became too obvious to be ignored, his wounded vanity impelled him to violent courses. As the Indians laughed at his proclamations and scornfully refused to obey their orders to deliver up those of their tribes who had been charged with murder, Kieft decided to resort to the sword.

But he had no soldier competent to wield the sword effectually. To question the valour of his fellow countrymen would be absurd, despite the quip about "Dutch courage." On land and sea the men of Holland had proved themselves as valiant fighters as any. But they needed efficient commanders, and such commanders were lacking in New Netherland. One example of the results of that destitution is typical of many. In the March of 1642 Kieft instructed the commander of Fort Amsterdam, Lieutenant Hendrick van Dyck, to attack an Indian settlement with a force of eighty men. By rapid marching, the expedition reached a point near its objective in the evening, and the men were anxious to advance at once lest the enemy should learn of their presence. Van Dyck

[11] Washington Irving, *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, Book IV, Chap. XII.

was not so eager; and, losing his temper, he ordered a retreat instead of an attack. In fine, as Brodhead admits, the expedition "returned to Fort Amsterdam in all the Mortification of failure." [12] Yet Van Dyck had been in charge of the chief fortification of New Netherland for several years, and was presumably one of the most efficient of Kieft's officers.

Eleven months later, Kieft ordered that insensate massacre of Indians which branded 1643 as "the year of blood" in the annals of New Netherland.

Early in the year, a force of Mohawks, armed with muskets which had been sold them by unscrupulous traders, descended upon enemy tribes to collect tribute. In the terror of that raid, the victims fled in large numbers, and finally took refuge among the Dutch, some at Pavonia and others on Manhattan Island. Wise counsellors such as David Pieters De Vries, that redoubtable mariner and sage settler, advised Kieft that that incident offered him a golden opportunity to win Indian friendship. But Kieft saw nothing more than an occasion to assert his authority and salve his vanity. In brief, he decided to avail himself of that propitious event by dealing out slaughter on the natives who had disobeyed his proclamations.

De Vries is our chief authority for the almost incredible events of those days. He narrated how Kieft declared to him his intention of "wiping the mouths of the Indians," and repeated the arguments he had used to dissuade him from such a suicidal policy. "When I had expressed all these things in full," De Vries wrote, "sitting at the table, and the meal was over, he told me he

[12] John R. Brodhead's *History of the State of New York*, I, 329-330.

wished me to go to the large hall, which he had been lately adding to his house. Coming to it, there stood all his soldiers ready to cross the river to Pavonia to commit the murder." Such was the prelude to the carnage of the night of February 25-26.

I remained that night at the Governor's [De Vries continued] sitting up. I went and sat in the kitchen, when, about midnight, I heard a great shrieking, and I ran to the ramparts of the fort, and looked over to Pavonia. I saw nothing but firing, and heard the shrieks of the Indians murdered in their sleep. . . . When it was day, the soldiers returned to the fort, having massacred or murdered eighty Indians, and considering they had done a deed of Roman valour, in murdering so many in their sleep. . . . At another place, on the same night, at Corlear's Hook, some forty Indians were in the same manner attacked in their sleep, and massacred there in the same manner as the Duke of Alva did in the Netherlands, but more cruelly. This is indeed a disgrace to our nation.[13]

In such ruthless manner did Kieft keep his vow to "wipe the mouths of the Indians." When his assassins returned from their gory errand, he grasped them heartily by the hand, congratulated them on their "Roman valour," and rewarded them with generous largess. In due time he was to learn how certain and terrible is the harvest of those who sow dragons' teeth. Nemesis, indeed, did not pass him by. For as it was his imbecile Indian policy which occasioned his recall, the believer in "special providences" may divine in Kieft's death by drowning on his voyage to Holland due retribution for the massacres of Pavonia and Corlear's Hook.

[13] David Pieters De Vries, *Voyages from Holland to America*, 167-171.

Meanwhile, New Netherland soon began to reap the harvest of Kieft's sowing. The nature of that harvest may be partially realized from two contemporary official documents, these being the appeals dispatched to Holland by that council of Eight Men which had been specially elected to deal with the serious condition of the colony. One of those petitions was addressed to the Assembly of the Nineteen, the executive council of the West India Company; the other was directed to the States General, the supreme governing authority of the Netherlands. The two papers were drafted within a few days of each other in the late fall of 1643, and each was affirmed to have been authorized by "the Director and Council of the entire commonality of New Netherland."

When the statements of the one are supplemented by those of the other, there emerges a vivid picture of the woeful condition which Kieft's policy had produced. Not that the suppliants made any reference to the Director and his mad doings. Out of consideration for him, or perhaps on the principle that it was safer to impeach a remote rather than a present authority, they attributed "the fire of an Indian war" to a "righteous" Divine judgment instead of to a blundering Director's stupidity.

As to the enemy, the petitioners reported that the Indians had effected an alliance of seven tribes, by which their fighting strength had been increased to fifteen hundred men. And they were thoroughly equipped not merely with their native weapons of bows and arrows and tomahawks, but also with muskets and powder and lead. Having removed their old people and children and women to the safe and hidden recesses of the forests,

they were so mobile that in all directions the colonists were "hourly expecting an assault." By night, they were threatened with fire; by day, with slaughter.

No place was immune. At Pavonia, "all the boweries and plantations" and twenty-five lasts of corn had been burnt and cattle destroyed; Long Island was "stripped of people and cattle"; on the Island of Manhattan, "there are no more than five or six spots inhabited at this date"; Achter Coll was "altogether ruined."

For defence against the fifteen hundred Indians, the colonists could muster only some two hundred men, of whom not more than sixty were of the garrison, and they were "unprovided with ammunition." Fort Amsterdam was "utterly defenceless"; it resembled "rather a mole-hill than a fort against an enemy."

We poor inhabitants of New Netherland [the petitioners bewailed], were pursued by these wild Heathen and barbarous Savages with fire and sword; daily in our houses and fields they have cruelly murdered men and women; and with hatchets and tomahawks struck little children dead in their parents' arms or before their doors; or carried them away into bondage; the houses and grain-barracks are burned with the produce; cattle, of all descriptions, are slain and destroyed, and such as remain must perish this approaching winter for want of fodder.

Almost every place is abandoned. We, wretched people, must skulk, with wives and little ones that still survive, in poverty together, in and around the fort at the Manhattans, where we are not safe even for an hour; whilst the Indians daily threaten to overwhelm us with it. Very little can be planted this autumn, and much less in the spring; so that it will come to pass that all of us who will yet save our lives, must of necessity perish

next year of hunger and sorrow, with our wives and children.

Then came the final piteous appeal.

We supplicate, for God's sake, and for the love your High Mightinesses bear your poor and desolate subjects here in New Netherland, that your High Mightinesses would take pity on us, your poor people, and encourage the Company thereunto, and command them (to whom we also hereby make known our necessity) to forward us, by the earliest opportunity, such assistance as your High Mightinesses will deem most proper, in order that we, poor forlorn people, may not be left a prey, with our wives and children, to these cruel heathens.[14]

Such was the parlous condition to which Kieft's insane policy had reduced New Netherland. And it was at that crisis in the fate of the colony, when its utter destruction seemed beyond prevention, that the Director appealed to Underhill. He was indeed fortunate that the services of such a soldier were available. Underhill's training and campaign experiences in Holland had made him proficient in the Dutch language and familiar with Netherlands military methods and discipline; his drilling of the train-bands of New England had taught him how to make the best use of voluntary soldiers; and his warfare against the Pequots had given him invaluable knowledge of Indian fighting. To those considerable assets, too, were added great personal courage and an inspiring gift of leadership.

That Underhill quickly responded to Kieft's appeal is proved from a "Resolution of the Director General

[14] The Eight Men to the Assembly of the Nineteen and Memorial of the Eight Men to the States General: *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, I, 190, 191; 139, 140.

and Council of New Netherland to attack Mamaronock," the record of which, dated the 17th of October, 1643, reads: "Resolved in council, in the presence of Johan Onderhil, Ensign de Leu, Cornelis Melyn, Tomas Hal and Isaack Allerton, to make a hostile attack on Mamaronock, chief of the Wiquaeskecks, and his tribe." [15]

Bearing in mind the reports of the Eight Men as to the defenceless condition of New Netherland, and the disparity between the fighting strength of the colony and the seven Indian tribes, the resolution of Kieft's council seems inexplicable. But the decision was probably inspired by Underhill, in the faith of the military axiom that attack is the best defence. He was too experienced, however, to advise immediate action, realizing that the first necessity was to procure reinforcements of the scanty ranks of his command. Doubtless it was at his suggestion that the urgent appeals were addressed to the Assembly of the Nineteen and the States General; but, fully aware that whatever assistance might be sent from Holland would not be available for several months, it was more probable still that he advised Kieft to empower him to approach his fellow countrymen of the settlements on Long Island Sound. The Director welcomed the proposal, and appointed Isaac Allerton as

[15] Translated from New York Colonial Manuscripts, IV, 179, in the New York State Library. Of the five men whom Kieft called into council, three were English, namely, Underhill, Thomas Hall and Isaac Allerton, the two latter being members of the Eight Men. Hall had been in New Amsterdam since 1635, and was friendly with the Dutch; Allerton, one of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims, had removed to New Netherland about 1638 and entered upon a prosperous career as a merchant. Of the two Dutch members of the council, Cornelis Melyn was a patroon of Staten Island and a notable figure in New Netherland history. "Ensign de Leu" was Gysbert de Leeuw, who acted as a kind of aide-de-camp to Kieft. It is significant that in the original record the words "Captain Johan de Vries" were cancelled and replaced by "Captain Johan Onderhil" indicating, apparently, that Kieft was uncertain whether Underhill would respond to his appeal.

Underhill's colleague on his important mission. The sequel is set forth on the records, for the 27th of October, 1643, of the General Court of New Haven.

Upon a proposition and request made by Captain Underhill and Mr. Allerton, by instructions from the Dutch Governor and some of the freemen of that jurisdiction, for the raising of one hundred soldiers out of these plantations of the English, armed and victualled, to be led forth by Captain Underhill against the Indians now in hostility against the Dutch, to be paid by bills of exchange into Holland:

The Court seriously considered the propositions with the consequences thereof, and though they were affected with a due sense of so much Christian blood, both Dutch and English under the Dutch government, lately shed by the Indians, yet not clearly understanding the rise and cause of the war, and well remembering the articles of Confederation betwixt themselves and the rest of the united colonies of New England in case of war,[16] they did not see at present how they might afford the aid propounded without a meeting and consent of the Commissioners for the rest of the jurisdictions. But if peace be not settled this winter, so soon as the Commissioners may meet in the spring, both the ground of the war, and the aid or assistance desired, may be taken into due consideration; and if, in the meantime, there be want of corn for men and food for cattle in supply of what the Indians have destroyed, these plantations will afford what help they may.

The Court not thinking it meet to afford that aid of soldiers to the Dutch, nor to send Captain Underhill to lead their men against the Indians without the consent of the Commissioners for the colonies as is before ex-

[16] It was in the May of this year (1643) that the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven had decided upon a confederacy for self-defence, one condition of which was that neither of the colonies was to engage in war, unless compelled to, without the consent of the other three.

pressed, a motion and request was made by Captain Underhill that twenty pounds might be lent to him to supply his present occasions, which twenty pounds shall be repaid by the town of Stamford out of the salary they have engaged themselves to allow him yearly, the one half in March come twelve months, the other half the next ensuing March, which will be Anno 1645. Which being duly considered, it was ordered, that if the lending of this twenty pounds may be a means to settle the Captain, and if they conceive his settlement may tend to their comfort and security, and if the town of Stamford will see the said sum duly repaid at the times mentioned above, the jurisdiction is willing to lend the said sum to prevent the snares of larger offers for his remove.[17]

Whether Underhill accepted a loan conditioned by so many cautious "ifs" is doubtful, especially as his need of the money was probably occasioned, as at a subsequent date, by his desire to reward any who volunteered for service. But the prudence of the New Haven deputies does not disguise one significant fact: they, as well as the Stamford people, were evidently uneasy lest "the snares of larger offers" should deprive them of Underhill's services. And they did make one valuable concession in offering corn and fodder. It was literally true, of course, owing to their recent adhesion to the Confederation of New England colonies, that they had no authority to permit Underhill to assume the command of the New Netherland forces. That is, they had no power to "send" him on such a commission.

Underhill, however, was under no personal obligation to the Confederacy; and it is clear that, without immediately removing from Stamford, he regarded himself

[17] Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven, I, 116, 117.

as in the service of New Netherland from the time he was summoned to council by Kieft, namely, the October of 1643. And it may be safely assumed that from that date, and in spite of his failure with the New Haven deputies, he addressed himself zealously to the gathering and training of a force in preparation for the season when it would be possible to assume the offensive.

Before that day arrived, Patrick, who might have been of material assistance to Underhill owing to his knowledge of Dutch and his military experiences in Holland, came to a tragic end. As some wandering Indians had disturbed the peace of Greenwich and slain an inhabitant of that town, Patrick made an urgent claim for that protection he had been promised when he became a subject of New Netherland. A force was at once sent from New Amsterdam; but an exacting all-night march in quest of the enemy was fruitless. When the weary soldiers returned to Stamford, one of the band, meeting Patrick in Underhill's house, hotly charged him with treachery in having caused so many men to travel from Fort Amsterdam on such a fool's errand. Patrick, who was hasty in temper, gave the Dutchman the lie, spat in his face, and turned contemptuously away. The Dutchman promptly drew his pistol, and fired a fatal shot in the back of Patrick's head.

When the assassin was delivered up by the leader of the Dutch company, it was decided to keep him captive in Underhill's house until he could be sent to New Haven for trial. That night, however, he escaped. The subsequent proceedings, which took place before a court of magistrates at New Haven, are of interest because they give us our only peep into the interior of one of John

Underhill's homes and report an exclamation of his wife.

Thomas Stevenson and George Slowson, both of Stamford, were the two men who were charged with negligence in allowing the prisoner to escape. Stevenson, while claiming that he and his colleague were careful to discharge the trust committed to them, added that

> Captain Underhill persuaded them to let him go to bed in a chamber, and told them that if they did but lock the door of the chamber wherein the prisoner lay, they might sit by the fire in the lower room at the foot of the stairs; which they did, and had no company but the Captain and his wife, who stayed not long with them before they departed to their lodging; and about two or three hours after, they missed the prisoner and called up the magistrate.

Slowson affirmed that when he made some question as to the safety of the window of the chamber "the Captain's wife showed some dislike of it, and said 'what adoe is here!' " On that, Slowson

> spake to the Captain himself, who said that he had spoken with the prisoner to know if he had no temptation to escape, who answered, "Yea, but alas," said he "whither can I go? I had rather die under the hands of a Christian magistrate than under the hands of the Indians"; and thereupon the said George rested more secure. He further saith, that when the messengers came from New Haven, the Captain said to them, "now look to the prisoner yourselves for I will take charge of him no longer now that New Haven men are come." [18]

As the custodians pleaded that "mere ignorance" was the cause of their "miscarriage," they appear to have escaped punishment.

[18] Records of New Haven, I, 127, 128.

Underhill's eagerness to renounce his responsibility for the prisoner is easily understood. He had more weighty duties to discharge than those of a jailor. For soon after the tragedy of Patrick's death, serious news came from Hempstead on Long Island.

According to a contemporary Dutch narrative, an Indian of ripe experience and great influence was concocting a plot for the extermination of all the settlers, Dutch and English alike. His plan was to refrain from any hostile action until all suspicion had been lulled, and then for the Indians to divide themselves equally according to the number of the households, and make a simultaneous slaughter of all on a given night. On this conspiracy becoming known, an expedition of a hundred and twenty men was dispatched from Fort Amsterdam, the English contingent being committed to Underhill's command. Landing at Schout's Bay, the force marched directly on Hempstead, where a division was made, Underhill going forward with only fourteen men to attack one of the villages. Each assault was completely successful, the Indians being taken by surprise and slain to the number of over a hundred, while the assailants had but fifteen casualties.

Having demonstrated his leadership in so conclusive a manner, Underhill was consulted by Kieft as to a plan of campaign against the more formidable forces of the Connecticut Indians. At this juncture the opportune arrival of a ship from Holland enabled the prospective expedition to be well equipped. The vessel had not been sent by their High Mightinesses, but represented the private speculation of one of the patroons. Kieft made a requisition for fifty pairs of boots for the soldiers, for

which he offered full payment. On the supercargo refusing to comply with the Director's request, the whole cargo was seized, with the result that not only was an ample supply of boots secured, but also a much needed consignment of muskets and ammunition. Hence Underhill's force could be thoroughly furnished for its momentous campaign.

Before setting out, however, he decided to reconnoitre in person and be his own intelligence officer. Fortune favoured him. At Stamford, he gained the confidence of an old Indian who knew the precise locality of a large native encampment in a mountainous region to the north of that town, and who promised to guide Underhill thither. His informant declared there were fully five hundred fighting men at the bivouac in question; but other statements increased the total to seven hundred and even to fourteen hundred. On the lowest estimate, the Indians would greatly outnumber any force that could be sent against them.

Having instructed his guide where and when to await him, Underhill returned to Fort Amsterdam to advise an immediate attack and complete his preparations. Only a hundred and thirty men were available for the expedition. They sailed in three yachts, and, on a late day in the February of 1644, eventually landed at Greenwich.

Strategy prompted the point of disembarkation. Underhill would not forget that in the Pequot campaign he had disobeyed the precise instructions of the Hartford magistrates as to where the soldiers were to land, that he might consequently make an unexpected flank attack on the enemy. Kieft was wise enough not to indulge in any such amateur suggestions to one who had been "bred

to war from his youth"; hence Underhill was free to select Greenwich rather than Stamford as the place from which to begin his march. If he had landed at the latter port the Indians might easily have learnt of his approach.

As an immediate advance from Greenwich was impossible owing to a heavy snowstorm, the force camped there for the night, but was able to set out in the morning. The march, over snow-clad plains and then rugged hills where progress was slow and hazardous, was naturally of an exacting nature. About eight o'clock in the evening, too, unexpected obstacles appeared in the form of two rivers, one of which was some sixty yards wide and three feet deep. At that point the Indian encampment was only about three miles distant. Such a conjunction of obstacles and time and distance called for a quick and important decision. Underhill had fixed the hour of attack at midnight; and the march, despite its difficulties, had been accomplished two hours ahead of time. A halt for that period was necessary, and he decided to make it ere crossing the rivers, for if it had been postponed until afterwards, his men, wet and chilled by fording the streams, would have been in no condition to rest for a couple of hours. On the other hand, if the march was resumed directly the rivers were crossed, the resulting exercise would nullify the numbing effect of the winter-cold water.

That military intuition which had enabled Underhill to deal so promptly and effectually with the unexpected, naturally had not failed him in preparing for the expected. The old Dutch narrative, without giving many details, makes it clear that he had carefully planned the

method of attack and issued explicit instructions as to how it was to be carried out.

As the force drew near its objective at the midnight hour, the nature of the task to be accomplished was obvious to every soldier. The storm of the previous day had given place to a calm and cloudless night; and the full moon, whose beams were brilliantly reflected from the virgin snow, lit up the scene with so strong a light "that many winters' days were not clearer than it then was." There, then, plainly visible to all, on a low recess in the mountain side, were the three rows of the Indian huts, set up "street fashion" some eighty paces in length. The wigwams were densely crowded; "our God," the Dutch chronicler piously claiming, "having collected together there the greater number of our enemies, to celebrate one of their festivals." Perhaps a more mundane explanation was probable. Underhill may have timed his expedition to coincide with the festival.

Less fortunate than when the occupants of Fort Mystic were surprised in heavy midnight sleep, the attackers soon discovered that the Indians of those triple rows of huts were keenly alert. Here was to be no swift and unexpected attack, with the battle half won ere the enemy was roused to defence. But Underhill's men quickly extended to surround the encampment, swords and muskets ready to receive any who attempted to escape. "The Indians behaved like soldiers," the Dutch recorder noted, "and deployed in small bands, so that we had in a short time one dead and twelve wounded. They were likewise so hard pressed that it was impossible for one to escape. In a brief space of time, one hundred and eighty were counted dead outside the houses. Presently none

durst come forth, keeping themselves within the houses, discharging arrows through the holes."

Had Underhill's hundred and thirty men been the defending rather than the attacking force, the advantage of position would have redressed their disparity of numbers. Swift action was necessary to adjust the balance. So, as at Fort Mystic, he gave word to fire the huts. For a brief while, as the flames spread, small parties of Indians tried to break away from the doomed encampment; but as they were met by heavy musket-fire "they turned back to the flames, preferring to perish by fire than to die by our hands. What was most wonderful is, that among this vast collection of men, women and children, not one was heard to cry or scream. According to the report of the Indians themselves, the number thus destroyed exceeded five hundred. Some say, full seven hundred." Only eight escaped, and three of those were severely wounded.

When the flames had died down, and silence reigned again, no doubt remained as to the thoroughness of Underhill's victory. The climax of the story may be given in the words of the Dutch narrator:

The fight ended, several fires were built in consequence of the great cold; the wounded, fifteen in number, were dressed, and sentinels having been posted by the General, the troops bivouacked there for the remainder of the night. On the next day, the party set out much refreshed in good order, so as to arrive at Stamford in the evening. They marched with great courage over that wearisome mountain, God affording extraordinary strength to the wounded, some of whom were badly hurt; and came in the afternoon to Stamford, after a march of two days and one night, with little rest. The English received

our people in a very friendly manner, affording them every comfort. In two days they reached Fort Amsterdam. A thanksgiving was proclaimed on their arrival.[19]

Kieft had abundant reason to proclaim that thanksgiving. If writers of pro-Dutch sympathies ignore the effects of the victory and are disreputably unappreciative of Underhill's share therein, full justice has been done to both by so philosophical and impartial a historian as John Fiske. Describing him as "an eminently skilful and accomplished soldier," who, in the nick of time, "gave the tottering colony of New Netherland the benefit of his military skill and experience," he noted that at that crisis "an annihilating blow was needed, and Underhill was the man for such work." And then, having declared that it would "not be extravagant to call him the saviour of New Netherland," Fiske summed up the consequences of the expedition in these unchallengeable words: "The immediate result of this appalling blow was the breaking up of the formidable league of tribes against the Dutch. By the middle of April the tribes of Long Island and Westchester sued for peace, and before the close of the summer every tomahawk was quiet. Thus ended a war which endangered the very existence of New Netherland."[20]

Unlike some modern pro-Dutch commentators, the Indians of those days harboured no illusions as to the identity of the man who was responsible for their overthrow. For among the ancient archives of New Netherland there is convincing testimony on that matter. The

[19] Journal of New Netherland, in *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, I, 186-188; J. R. Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, I, 390-391; John W. de Forest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut*, 206-208.
[20] John Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, I, 217-218.

docket of the record in question reads: "Minute of the arrival at Stamford of Mamaronock and other Indians to solicit Capt. Underhill to sue in their name for peace." The document itself is more explicit in stating how Mamaronock and the other chiefs appealed to Underhill to "sue the Governor of New Netherland for peace," promising "now and forever not to do any harm to either people, cattle, or houses, or anything else within the territory of New Netherland." They might have addressed their petition to Kieft himself; instead, their native instinct singled out the man by whom they had been so decisively defeated. Underhill did not fail them. He duly presented their appeal to the Director; and a treaty of peace, with return of prisoners, was "done at Fort Amsterdam in New Netherland, this sixth of April." [21] That the chiefs of the Indian league should thus have pleaded for peace is ample confirmation of Fiske's eulogy of Underhill as "the saviour of New Netherland."

[21] Translated from the New York Colonial Manuscripts, IV, 186, in the New York State Library.

CHAPTER X

SHERIFF OF FLUSHING

CONSIDERING that Boston does not contain a single building which can boast a personal connection with John Winthrop, and that even in that city the oldest structure dates merely from 1676, it is hardly surprising that no vestiges remain of Underhill's homes on American soil. Happily, however, among the few contemporary drawings of early New Amsterdam, there are some which depict a building associated with a lively if not wholly decorous incident of his career. In his descriptions of these, I. N. Phelps Stokes points out that among the conspicuous objects are the Church and Stadt Huys.[1] As those drawings are attributed to about 1642 and 1643, they consequently show the Stadt Huys at the time when it was not the Town House but the City Tavern, for it was not until 1653 that the building was utilized for official purposes. Prints of a later date represent the structure with greater prominence and detail, and indicate more emphatically its waterside position on Pearl Street opposite Coenties Slip.[2]

Kieft's reluctance to dispense unlimited hospitality appears to have been the principal reason why the City Tavern was built. At his dinner table one day, De Vries

[1] I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, I, 139-40, 140-42. This monumental work, scholarly and painstaking to a degree, is a unique treasury of New York topography.

[2] A commemorative tablet is affixed to No. 73 Pearl Street.

recorded, he stated that he had now had a "fine inn built of stone, in order to accommodate the English who daily passed with their vessels from New England to Virginia, from whom he suffered great annoyance, and who might now lodge in the tavern." [3] De Vries rejoined that such a provision "happened well for the travellers"; but a more understanding modern writer has hazarded the opinion that in building the City Tavern "some thought may have been taken of the fact that trade in a tavern is apt to turn in favour of the trader who has the hardest head—and it is an incontestable fact that our Dutch ancestors had heads upon which they could rely." [4]

It must not be assumed that the City Tavern was the only inn of New Amsterdam. Such a Volsteadian condition would not have been tolerated by so hard and deep drinking a people as the Dutch of the seventeenth century. But inasmuch as that addition to the alcoholic resources of the settlement was the property of the West India Company, was under the ægis of the Director himself, and was so favourably situated by the waterside, it must quickly have become the chief resort of thirsty and convivial citizens. As, too, it was erected specially for the accommodation of the captains of New England and Virginia trading vessels, the English of New Amsterdam would naturally resort thither in the hope of learning news of their friends and fellow countrymen. Doubtless there was keen competition for the control of such a desirable hostelry; but it was, excusably, a Dutchman, Philip Gerritssen by name, to whom Kieft leased the tavern in the February of 1643, at an annual rent of three

[3] David Pieters De Vries, *Voyages from Holland to America*, 148.
[4] Thomas A. Janvier, *The Dutch Founding of New York*, 96.

hundred guilders. His privileges included the right to sell the Company's wine and brandy at a profit of six stivers a gallon, and to sink a well and erect a brew-house in the rear of the inn. The latter he put to such excellent use that De Vries testified that the beer of the City Tavern was as good as that of the Fatherland.[5]

As Underhill had savoured the excellent beer of the Low Countries experimentally instead of by mere repute, the kindred virtues of Host Gerritssen's brew would inevitably make him a patron of the City Tavern. And one evening he was the leading spirit of a party there which, owing to its disagreement with another band of revellers, attained the distinction of a special entry in the official records of New Amsterdam.

Before quoting the document in question, it will impart greater interest to its statements to recall a few particulars of the persons named therein. Unfortunately, only two of Underhill's companions are specified: Thomas Willet and George Baxter. The first was that sea captain whom Stuyvesant was destined to appoint as one of his representatives at an important conference with New England delegates; the other, George Baxter, another member of the same conference, had been appointed by Kieft as official interpreter and English secretary. Hence, the Underhill party was distinctly pro-Kieft. The other party was as emphatically anti-Kieft. Among them, the most conspicuous was Domine Everardus Bogardus, the first Dutch minister of New Amsterdam, a bustling, aggressive person, and reputed to be Gargantuan in his appetite for food and drink. With him

[5] Half Moon Series, Vol. II, No. VII: E. B. Cutting, *Old Taverns and Posting Inns.*

was his son-in-law, surgeon Hans Kierstede, who on his return to Holland was characterized by the directors of the Company as one who "troubles us here a good deal." Of the others, Jan Jacobsen has left no other record; but Nicholas Koorn had recently received an appointment from a wealthy patroon which had made him so consequential that he was soon in serious conflict with the authorities. The remaining member of the party, Gysbert op Dyck, has a niche all his own in New Netherland history as the first proprietor of Coney Island. Seventeen years later, he, being "out of office and needing the necessaries of life," was refused permission to sell that potential source of untold millions.

And now the old record may be allowed to carry on the story:

Before me, Cornelis van Tienhoven, secretary of New Netherland, appeared Nicolaes Coorn, 38 years of age, Hans Kierstede, about 32 years of age, Jan Jacobsen, about 30 years of age, and Gysbert op Dyck, 37 years of age, who, at the requisition of Cornelis van der Hoykens, fiscal, jointly attest, testify and declare, in place and with promise of a solemn oath if need be and required, that they, the deponents, were invited with their wives on the evening of the 15th instant to the public tavern of Philip Gerritssen, innkeeper, where about an hour after supper there came in Jan Onderhil, with his lieutenant and the drummer, to whom the above mentioned Philip Gerritssen said: 'Friends, I have invited these persons here with their wives; I therefore request that you betake yourselves to another room where you can be furnished with wine for money.' They finally did so, after many words.

Having been gone a short time, said Jan Onderhil and his company, who had been joined by Thomas Willet,

invited some of our, the deponents', company to take a drink with them, which was done. George Baxter, by Onderhil's orders, came and requested that Op Dyck would come and join them, which he refused. Thereupon he, Onderhil, and his companions with drawn swords knocked to pieces all but three of the mugs that hung from the shelf in the tavern, as may be seen by the marks which remain in shelf and by the cuts and hackings in the posts and doors; endeavouring, furthermore, by force, having drawn swords in their hands, to come into the room where the invited guests were. This was for a long time resisted by the landlady, with a leaden bludgeon, and by the landlord, by keeping the door shut; but finally Jan Onderhil and his companions, in spite of all opposition, came into the room, where he uttered many words, Captain Onderhil having his sword in his right and the scabbard in the left, the blade about a foot out of the scabbard. Holding his sword as described, said Jan Onderhil to the minister: 'Clear out of here, or I shall strike at random.' Thomas Willet also asked the minister, 'Do you want to take op Dyck's part? Then come outside.'

Presently, some English soldiers came likewise, to assist him, we presume, whereupon the above mentioned Onderhil and his companions became guilty of gross insolence, so that the fiscal and the guard were sent for; and these having arrived, the English and the above mentioned Onderhil were ordered to depart. This they refused to do, saying to the minister: 'If the Director comes here, 'tis well; I would rather speak to a wise man than to a fool.' And in order to prevent further and more serious mischief, yes, even to bloodshed, we broke up our pleasant party before we had intended. All of which we declare to be true. Done the 17th of March Anno 1644, in Fort Amsterdam.[6]

[6] Translated from New York Colonial Manuscripts, II, 101b, in the New York State Library.

Whether there was any penal sequel to that complaint, does not transpire. Probably not. For one reason, Kieft, with whom the final decision would rest, was an autocrat, and would undoubtedly favour his own supporters. And it is difficult to see what charge could be brought save one for damages to those beer mugs. It seems fairly obvious that the disturbance would have been avoided if the reluctant op Dyck had not refused the invitation to join Underhill's party. And it must be remembered that we have only one version of the incident. There is no necessity to proffer any excuse for the Kieft party. As the date of the affray was a few days subsequent to the return of Underhill and the soldiers from their perilous exploits against the Indians of Connecticut, an exhibition of high spirits may be easily condoned in men who had so recently risked their lives for the safety of New Netherland.

Another dispute, of a more placid if perplexing nature, was soon to engage Underhill's attention, though this time as an arbitrator. The records are scanty, somewhat incoherent, and with words and phrases obliterated; but the dominant fact which emerges from the old documents is that the controversy was concerned with the ownership of a bark. One of the principal persons involved was a Sir Edmund Plowden, who seems to have been almost as singular a character as that Sir Christopher Gardiner whom Underhill arrested in his early days in New England. Plowden had procured a charter to a large area of American soil, but, finding by experience that the parchment was worthless, he seems to have settled down in Virginia as a trader. Even in that rôle, however, he was obliged to share a vessel with others. Such, at any

rate, seems the obvious inference from a deposition made in the July of 1644 by one Peter Jansen,[7] who affirmed that, at the request of Mr. Moor, he could bear witness that he, being in the year 1643 in the river named Roppehanick in Virginia, heard one Mr. Middeller say, that the bark now belonging to Peter Louwerensen and Mr. Throgmorton, was the property of Sir Edmund Plowden. But only as to one half, Peter Jansen added: and to the further extent of two hogsheads of flour in the same vessel. Jansen did not offer any opinion as to who owned the other half of the bark.

Apparently it was just that problem of the ownership of the second half which Kieft and his council commissioned Underhill and Isaac Allerton to solve. The enigma was complicated by a counter-claim. When Mr. Moor urged his ownership, a Mr. Wederley intervened to assert his proprietorship. It is not clear, however, whether Mr. Wederley claimed Mr. Moor's section or that of Sir Edmund Plowden! And what about the alleged share of Peter Louwerensen and Mr. Throgmorton? Happily for Underhill and his colleague, the last-named did not appear in the case as it was presented for their adjudication. Their verdict, after "mature deliberation," was that they "found it to be just that half the bark should remain Mr. Moor's, provided he pay here to Mr. Wederley two hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, or the value thereof, leaving him, Mr. Wederley, to settle his affairs with the knight in Virginia."[8] Perhaps the dispute had been occasioned by Mr. Wederley sequestrating the bark for a debt due from Mr. Moor, though how to impound

[7] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, XIV, 57.

[8] Translated from New York Colonial Manuscripts, II, 135c, in the New York State Library.

one half of a vessel without detriment to the other half might puzzle a legal Solomon.

Underhill must have been much more at ease when next called into council by Kieft. The Director, not having fully learnt wisdom by the consequences of the massacres at Pavonia and Corlear's Hook, imagined it would be good policy to utilize the services of friendly Indians to subjugate some of the unruly natives of Long Island. But a leading Long Island sachem devised a better plan; and his persuasions were so effectual that on a day in the May of 1645 he appeared at Fort Amsterdam with forty-seven armed Indians to negotiate a lasting peace with the Dutch. Confronted by such an unexpected situation, Kieft summoned his council, and Underhill was one of those who promptly responded. Though a resolute fighter when necessity compelled, he, like all great soldiers, preferred peace to war; and it is certain that he was wholly in favour of the friendly treaty which was the issue of the council.

If, however, he was reluctant to draw the sword unless as a last resort, Underhill had no hesitation in invoking the aid of the law when he felt his citizen rights were being infringed. Eulogists of the Dutch would have us believe that so far as the European settlers in America were concerned, all the virtues were exemplified by the residents in New Netherland and all the vices by those of New England. Unfortunately, the old records of both regions are destructive of such wholesale discrimination. The supply of sinners seems to have been fully equal to the supply of saints in each area. So far as New Netherland is concerned, the testimony of *The Records of New Amsterdam,* with their seven volumes crowded with

legal proceedings, is conclusive. Indeed, a lively litigious spirit seems to have been common in the seventeenth century; and Underhill himself was not immune from the infection.

On four occasions in one year he appealed to the courts for redress; and it is surely conclusive testimony to his impartiality that the four persons against whom he laid his charges were equally divided between Dutch and English.[9] One of the Dutch defendants was Jan Joons; and Underhill's complaint against him was that he had broken his "contract to serve him until after haying-time," as he proved by producing "various depositions to that effect." The only defence Jan Joons made was to ask for copies of the depositions, which were allowed him on condition that he answered them within eight days, on pain of having judgment given against him. As on the same day Underhill charged Sergeant Hubbard with having "hired his servant without his consent," it would seem that Hubbard was an accessory in Jan's offence. It is tantalizing that there is no record of the final judgment in either case.

But Underhill scored an emphatic victory in his action against the other Dutchman—Jan Hadduwe. The charge was serious: Hadduwe had "slandered plaintiff's daughter." No further details of the offence are given in the record; but it is clear the defendant realized that his only hope lay in prompt and abject repentance. He confessed to the court that he had "nothing to say that in any way reflected on the honour or virtue of the plaintiff's daughter." Whereupon it was "ordered by the honour-

[9] Court Proceedings: Translated from New York Colonial Manuscripts, IV, 251, 267, 278, in the New York State Library.

able Director General and Council that Jan Hadduwe, in the presence of Debora, daughter of John Underhill, shall acknowledge having done wrong and pray her for forgiveness." Nor was that all. The culprit was also ordered to beg Underhill's forgiveness, and pay the costs of the trial.

Singularly enough, the other Englishman against whom Underhill brought an action was none other than his colleague of the bark arbitration—Isaac Allerton. And yet, perhaps, the collocation was not singular. Although Allerton was one of the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower,* his character was questionable. In Lowell's happy phrase, he was convinced of the necessity of having a balance on the right side of his counting-house ledger, as well as in his private account with his own soul. He was, indeed, "one of those men, to borrow a charitable phrase of Roger Williams, who 'feared God in the main,' that is, whenever it was not personally inconvenient." To be familiar with his shady transactions as they are sorrowfully recorded by Bradford in his history of the Pilgrims, is to be disposed to adjudge him guilty in advance of any sharp-practice charge that might be preferred against him. Underhill's indictment was to the effect, that, before he removed to New Netherland, Allerton had promised that he "would receive higher wages from the commonalty than from the Company." As Bradford, after long and costly experience, declared Allerton "kept no covenant, nor was ever likely to keep covenants," the presumption is strongly in favour of the truth of Underhill's charge, despite the defendant's denial of "having made any such promise." It would seem, however, judging from the fragmentary report of the case, that the

action was settled by a kind of compromise, Underhill agreeing not to further "trouble" the defendant in the matter.

What is most probable is that Kieft intervened. After all, the question in dispute was Underhill's remuneration; and the Director, with all his faults, was not indifferent to his responsibility toward the man who had rendered such signal service to New Netherland. On the contrary; for, whatever Underhill may have received in the form of "wages," there is ample proof that Kieft was generous in his grants of land. Of one of those grants, indeed, the opinion may be hazarded that if possession had remained with Underhill's direct descendants, its present-day value would probably be sufficient to make millionaires of them all.[10]

Of the two grants of land concerning which definite records have survived, one, and the most considerable in area, was of Long Island territory, situated in what may be described as the Flatlands (Amersfoort) region. The gift was probably made because of the adjacency of the land to the tobacco plantation which Underhill had leased from Andries Hudden, and its value consisted in its suitability for tobacco cultivation. It would seem, indeed, that the development of this part of Long Island owed its inception to speculations by officials of the West India Company.[11] That Andries Hudden and Gerrit Wolphertsen participated in those speculations is obvious

[10] Some hazy conception of this persists even in England to the present day. When, for the purposes of this study, an advertisement was inserted in several English country newspapers, enquiring for authentic particulars of Underhill's family, the replies included an optimistic letter from one of the name who remarked that he had always understood that, in the United States, there were "untold millions" awaiting the claim of the rightful Underhill owners!

[11] John R. Brodhead, *History of the State of New York,* I, 265.

from a deed of the first-named in 1641.[12] This probably referred to a part of the plantation leased by Underhill.

Kieft's grant was the subject of a carefully worded patent, which was authorized on the 14th of May, 1646, the subsequent history of which can be traced in old documents.[13] Denuded of its legal phraseology, this document set forth that the Director of New Netherland granted to Captain John Underhill a small island known as Meutelaers Island, which was separated from Long Island by two creeks, and comprised about fifty morgens (one hundred acres) exclusive of the marsh land, and that this was to be held by Underhill and his heirs on condition that they acknowledged the sovereignty of the States General.[14]

Underhill apparently retained possession of this land until the July of 1652, for an Indian deed of that date specifies how the Indian title was extinguished in favour of one Thomas Spicer "for full and plenary satisfaction already paid." Under that deed was written the necessary conveyance of the original grantee, in these words:

The abovesaid Island being given to me, General John Underhill by the deceased Governor Kieft, as part of recompense for my service in war, which Island I, the said John, do by these presents acknowledge to have sold

[12] This is in the possession of Victor H. Paltsits, the accomplished Chief of the American History Division and Keeper of Manuscripts in the New York Public Library. Mr. Paltsits contends that the surname of Andries Hudden should be so spelt, and not Hudde; and his authority is conclusive.

[13] An official description of the locality of the land involved, printed in *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York,* XIV, 66, is unfortunately misleading in stating that the patent was "for an island in the East River." Happily, all uncertainty has been dispelled by Frederick Van Wyck in his exhaustive and carefully documented study of "Keskachauge; or, the first white settlement on Long Island," who also points out that the island in question (Bergen Island) had many names in addition to "Mautelaers," "Metlers," "Wimbaccoe," etc.

[14] Translation of the Book of Dutch Patents G.G., 1642-1649, 343-344.

unto Thomas Spicer[15] of the Flatlands, with all my right and title given me by the said Kieft, as is specified upon the book of records, and this transport to be of full force and power unto him, the said Thomas, his heirs and assigns, for ever, in testimony whereof I have subscribed my hand, John Underhill.[16]

A title and a phrase in Underhill's conveyance are significant. While Kieft's patent referred to him as "Captain," it will be observed that the conveyance to Spicer used the higher rank of "General." It must not be concluded that Underhill was assuming a title to which he had no claim: on the one hand, the conveyance was obviously drafted, not by himself, but by one versed in the law; and, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the Dutch narrator of his expedition referred to him as "Sergeant-Major" and as "General." Now, the designations of officers in the Netherlands were largely copied from those in use by the Spaniards, and the sergeant-major of a regiment was regarded as the equal of a captain, for the sergeant-majors were selected from among the captains.[17] Indeed the Spanish army still retains the old term of "captain-general." The sum of the matter is, that in the seventeenth century, when military rank was not so precisely defined and regulated as now, the term "General" was used of an officer in supreme command, irrespective of the numerical strength of the force; and in that sense it was correctly applied to Underhill.

[15] Underhill's aunt Lettice married a Reginald Spicer in Westminster in 1600. The name may be a mere coincidence; but in view of Underhill's removal to America and the letters he must have written from thence, it is possible that Thomas Spicer may have been a connection of his aunt's husband.

[16] All the documents cited above were originally in the possession of the Hon. Teunis G. Bergen, and have been copied for Frederick Van Wyck, by the courtesy of their latest owner, John Z. Lott, of Brooklyn, for use in his "Keskachauge."

[17] Clement R. Markham, *The Fighting Veres*, 55.

More suggestive, however, is the phrase—"as part of recompense for my service in war."

Apart from what he had been paid in currency, those words imply that Underhill had received a grant of land prior to that of the May of 1646. Such was the case. And inasmuch as that earlier grant was of land on Manhattan Island itself, the interest and romance of that "recompense" far exceed the associations of the undistinguished plot of Long Island territory.

That Underhill had become a resident of New Amsterdam, is evidenced by the fact that on May 24, 1645, he was elected a member of the Council of New Amsterdam. This Council body acted in a twofold capacity: as an Executive Council and as a Court of Justice. The members could not be sued before, and were not amenable to, a Court of Inferior jurisdiction.

During the same year he became one of the Eight Men who were elected to adopt measures against the Indians. Five was a quorum and these delegates met every Saturday afternoon for deliberation.[18]

Prior to the above date, Kieft's recognition of Underhill's services as "the saviour of New Netherland," took the form of a plot of land on Manhattan Island, on which Captain Underhill must have made his home.

No equal area of American soil is so rich in historical associations and no similar space in any part of the world can boast a greater concentration of high finance and commercial and professional activities than the piece of land allotted him and it is indeed meet that one who played so notable a part in preserving America for European development as Underhill, should once have owned

[18] O'Callaghan, *Register of New Netherland*, 1626-1674, 11, 15, 53, 54.

a part of that memorable section of Manhattan Island.

This property is mentioned in the Calendar of Historical Manuscripts, Part I, Dutch, 1630-1644, page 49, and the original entry is still in existence in Albany, N. Y., reading as follows:

Power of Att'y, Cornelis Groesens to Cornelis Melyn, to demand from the director and council a ground brief of a certain lot of land sold to him by John Underhill and situated on the Island of Manhattan and to sell the same.

Appeared before me, Cornelis Van Tienhoven, Sec'y of New Nederland, Cornelis Groesen, supercargo on the Power of Enckhuysen for the purpose of ordering and demanding in his client's name the ground brief from the Director and Council for a certain piece of land, sold by Jan Onderhill to the aforesaid Groesen, as though he himself were present, and pay the price according to the bill of sale. Done the 20th of Sept. 1644. The sales price amounts to two hundred guldens to be paid through Cornelis Melyn to Jan Underhill, viz., twenty-five guldens at once and the balance in May next, 1645.

CORNELIS GROESENS
WILLIAM DE KEY, WITNESS
ADRIAEN VAN TIENHOVEN, WITNESS.

It is indeed strange that the above document is not mentioned in Stokes' *Iconography of Manhattan Island* as it is indexed and the original in existence. The researcher for that district for that publication, assured the questioner that the Underhill property could have been no other than that mentioned below, found in Volume 2, page 363 of that publication, under Lot 18, which location has also been checked by a former New York City surveyor and which reads as follows:

1645, Ground brief to Cornelis Groesens. Not found of record, but recited in deed as set forth below. [Note —The ground brief Groesens asked for on Sept. 20, 1644 has not been found.]

April 29, 1649. Deed. Cornelis Groesens to Lubbertus Van Dincklagen [Dutch Manuscripts in Albany, III, page 33]. Description: Lot of land bounded east by the Great Highway, 5½ acres. Recites ground brief to Groesens, Jan. 10, 1645, for piece of land bounded easterly by the Great Highway, westerly by the shore of the North River, adjoining southerly the Company's Garden and northerly on the land of Jan Damen; extending in breadth along the Highway 25 rods, 8 feet; along Jan Damen's land, on the north side to the strand, 38 rods; along the strand or on the west, 26 rods; along the Honorable Company's Garden or on the south side, 30 rods or thereabouts, amounting altogether to 880 rods, 6 feet.

The following is a translation of the above description, made from a photostat of the original Dutch document in Albany, by Frank L. Van Cleef, Dutch translator for the City of New York, for the County of Kings:

In the year of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, one thousand six hundred and forty-nine, the 29th of April, appeared before me Cornelis Van Tienhoven, Secretary of New Netherland, Cornelis Groesens, who in the presence of the hereunder named commissioned councillors declared and acknowledged, by virtue of the grontbrief granted on date the 10th of January 1645, by the Lord Director and Council of New Netherland, have conveyed and transported a piece of land lying easterly on the great highway, westerly on the strand of the North River, bounded southerly on the grantor's garden and northerly by the land of Jan Damen; large along the road and wide twenty-five rods, eight feet; along the land of

Jan Damen on the north side up to the strand thirty-eight rods, along the strand or on the west side twenty-six rods; wide along the grantor's garden or upon the south side thirty rods or thereabouts; amounting in all to eight hundred and eighty rods, six feet. The said land they have transported to and in behalf of Sir Lubbertus Dincklagen in a lawful, free and true ownership (on the condition that the same or whoever shall acquire his right shall be subjected to the reservations and conditions placed in the grontbrief). This land the said Sir Dincklagen shall enter upon and make use of as his legally acquired patrimonial property and estate, without the grantor, in capacity aforesaid, retaining therein any right or pretense of possession, but giving up all claim from now on forever. He promises to hold this transport firmly binding, irretragable and irrevocable and to observe and carry out everything under bond according to laws thereunto pertaining. Without deceit, or guile this has been signed by the grantor in presence of the commissioned councillors, the 29th of April in the year 1649, in New Amsterdam in New Netherland.

CORNELIS GROESENS.

On the 21st of Feb. 1650, this transport was approved by the Director General of New Netherland at the meeting. Date as above.

P. STUYVESANT, Director.[19]

The above property was leased by Director Kieft to Jan Damen, on April 19, 1638, for the term of six years, thus expiring April 19, 1644.[20] On April 25, 1644, Damen had a new lease but it was not for this property, but for the land north of it, and the part situated north of the Company's Garden was granted to Cornelis Groesens, Jan. 10, 1645 and covered Trinity churchyard.[21] Captain John

[19] New York Colonial Manuscripts, III, 33, Albany, N. Y.
[20] Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island,* VI, 86.
[21] *Ibid.,* II, 190.

Underhill returning a victor and covered with glory, from the Indian battle at Greenwich and for the successful issue of his conference with the Indian chiefs, was without doubt granted the above land for his services, even though the actual document has not been found, for the above power-of-attorney is a convincing argument that the property was his and that he sold it to Groesens.

The *Iconography of Manhattan Island,* Volume VI, page 102, in describing the Cornelis Groesens farm states "that the land was in the possession of Jan Jansen Damen in 1638," etc. (which is shown above to have been leased to Damen and lease not renewed) and continues:

> Cornelis Groesens received a ground-brief from Kieft for 5½ acres of the tract. The Wall was built across it and the First Lutheran Church stood on part of it, just inside of the Wall near the Land Gate. Before July 1673, "the next burial place without the Town" occupied part of it just outside the Wall. Johannis Van Brugh, who had bought the land at the northeast corner of the farm, had a formal Dutch garden there for which he was taxed in August 1673. Finally the City of New York acquired the whole farm, probably by purchase, as recited in the Dongan charter, April 27, 1686, which ratified the city's title. On April 22, 1703, the Corporation of New York conveyed it all to Trinity Church. The south wall of the building at 111 Broadway is co-incident with the north line of the farm.

The burial place mentioned above is now Trinity Churchyard.[22]

How little Underhill imagined what a potentiality of untold wealth he relinquished for eighty dollars!

Why he should have sold it so soon is reasonably ex-

[22] *Ibid.,* III, 927.

plicable. Even if, as is probable, he gave up his Stamford home when his services were engaged for New Netherland, he had another abode on the tobacco plantation which he had leased from Andries Hudden at Flatlands; and for a few years subsequent to 1644 it would seem that he had his home at Flatlands, where he would be near the Long Island property granted him by Kieft in 1649. Obviously, he would not need another home on Manhattan Island.

That even in the December of 1647 Underhill was still residing at Flatlands, and stocking his orchard there, is established by a friendly letter to John Winthrop, written in answer to one from the Governor of Massachusetts.

For the clearer understanding of that letter, it is necessary to remember that earlier in the year a notable change had been made in the governorship of New Netherland. William Kieft had been deposed; and Peter Stuyvesant had succeeded him. And the new Director, in his natural eagerness to justify the confidence of the West India Company, soon became involved in a dispute with the Governor of New Haven.

It is a natural inference from Underhill's letter that he and Winthrop were in the habit of corresponding with each other; and the superscription of this epistle—"To the Right Worshipful and my much honoured friend"—and its tone throughout, are evidence that removal to New Netherland had not lessened the affectionate esteem in which he held the Governor of Massachusetts.

Writing to Winthrop from "Flatlands, the 22nd of December 1647," and beginning "Most noble Sir," Underhill proceeded:

By your last wherewith your worship was pleased to honour your unworthy servant, I perceive the Lord was pleased to restore your health, to his glory and his people's good. Blessed be His name. We have little news in these parts, only that France and Holland are entered into a perpetual peace. The Spaniard and Hollander have made a truce for the sea, and called in their men of war, and that the State of Holland has sent 10,000 men to Brussels; the West India Company not able to manage the work, wanting men. This is the sum of all we heard with the last ship arrived November last, and was but nine weeks in her voyage.

I am sorry for the late difference between New Haven and our Governor. The inhabitants wish for mutual peace and good neighbourhood between New England and our parts. I pray God, if it be His will, to grant it, so far as it will stand with justice. Sir, I pray let me humbly entreat my service and my wife's to be presented to Mr Cotton and Mr Wilson; and if your worship will be pleased to bestow a small pear-tree and plum-tree or two, I shall rest yours in what I am able, praying God to bless you in all your affairs.[23]

Doubtless Underhill's request for a small pear-tree and a plum-tree or two, was not made in vain. He knew that in the early days of the settlement of Massachusetts Winthrop had been granted Conant's (afterwards Governor's) Island in Boston harbour on condition that he planted an orchard there; and he must also have been familiar with the fact that the Governor's friends in England often sent him supplies of young fruit trees of all kinds.[24] And it is unthinkable that Winthrop should have disregarded so small a request from the soldier to whom Massachusetts owed so much. Did he also add

[23] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 181-2.
[24] *Ibid.*, 3rd Series, IX, 265; 5th Series, I, 202.

some slips of those roses—damask, red, white, and province—sent him by one of his cousins, so that Underhill might enjoy the beauty and fragrance of the queen flower of his native land?

So far as records go, that letter of the late December of 1647 was the last message Winthrop received from Underhill. There may have been others; but they are all buried in the dust of the ages. Still, the letter is a fine valediction. Its kindly greetings to the teacher and pastor of the Boston church, its postscript of "my wife and daughter humbly present you with their service," its unfeigned gratitude for the restoration of the Governor's health, its desire for peace between Dutch and English, its prayer for the Divine blessing on all Winthrop's labours, are so typical of the frank and friendly nature of the writer that he could not have written more wisely had he known he was penning his farewell to the man who had been the instrument of his removal to the new world.

Ere Winthrop died (1649), he was to learn that in his new home Underhill was as highly appreciated for his civic as for his military qualities. Kieft valued him as a soldier; Stuyvesant esteemed him as a governing official. The occasion of the latter preferment was provided by the necessities of that settlement at Flushing which had been authorized in 1645. All the details are duly set forth in a decision made by Stuyvesant and his Council at Fort Amsterdam on the 27th of April, 1648, recorded in these words:

Whereas divers misunderstandings having hitherto arisen among the inhabitants of New Flushing in New Netherland, the said inhabitants have, therefore, referred

the question to the Director-General and Council, to whose decision they have voluntarily submitted themselves; in like manner they have in writing referred the election of Schout and Schepens there to the said General and Council, having only provisionally named and proposed to the Hon. Director and Council John Underhill as Schout, John Tonsen, John Hicks, William Toorn as Schepens and Selectmen, and John Lawrence for clerk, before whom all civil suits under 50 guilders shall be brought, and that pursuant to the written order to that end granted to the inhabitants of Flushing.

Therefore, after consideration of the matter herein to be deliberated, for the greater tranquility of the Province, and the assured peace and unity of the said village of Flushing, is John Underhill by us chosen for and appointed Schout, and the said persons Schepens and clerk, provided that the Schout and Schepens shall take the oath of allegiance and uprightness punctually to follow in all Civil cases the written rule and articles already issued and enacted for them. Which being done, we charge and command the inhabitants of our town of New Flushing to respect such Persons each in his own quality, and to lend them a helping hand in the execution of their office.[25]

Although the functions of the Schout, that is, Sheriff, in New Netherland were somewhat different from those delegated to that official in the Netherlands, owing to the novel conditions of the community, it is clear from the foregoing document and from other evidence that the duties of the position were exacting and responsible. And tact of a special kind was necessary in the Sheriff of such a new settlement as that of Flushing. That he was obliged to combine varied qualities is evident from the official instructions, which made him prosecute all

[25] New York Colonial Manuscripts, IV, 382.

offenders *ex officio* and enter suits in the courts. Often, too, he was expected to have such a knowledge of the laws as to enable him to suggest the right penalty for any offence. Evidently the inhabitants of Flushing had complete confidence in Underhill's ability to discharge the important duties of the office for which they nominated him; and Stuyvesant so entirely shared their opinion that he had no hesitation in confirming their choice.

As Stuyvesant had been specially instructed to pay strict attention to enforcing the customs regulations of the West India Company, Underhill appears to have included among his duties the supervision of the vessels trading in Long Island Sound. Hence the fleeting glimpse of his activities given in a letter of Roger Williams at Narragansett to the younger Winthrop: "Captain Underhill, now here in a Dutch vessel, presents loving respects." [26]

More detailed evidence of his attention to his duties is provided in connection with two of the English settlers of Long Island: Thomas Lawrence and Rev. Francis Doughty. The latter was that minister who had been ejected from his New England pulpit for asserting that "Abraham's children should have been baptized," and who, after much vicissitude, had become the minister of the Flushing community. At some period of his ministry, however, he was charged with preaching against the government; whereupon Underhill ordered the church door to be shut; and shortly thereafter Doughty was dismissed.[27] Those incidents were the origin of a law-suit which involved Underhill in considerable trou-

[26] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, IX, 276.
[27] *Cf.* H. Onderdonk, *Queens County in Olden Days.*

ble for many years, the final settlement of which was protracted until after the English occupation of New Netherland.[28]

Thomas Lawrence's case—he belonged to Hempstead—was another example of the faithful manner in which Underhill exercised his office as Sheriff, and even more notable because the matter involved the question of New Haven jurisdiction. The letter, dated from Flushing on the 24th of August, 1651, in which the particulars were reported to Stuyvesant, is evidence that Underhill had considerable skill in presenting a legal problem.

Most noble General [he wrote]: Thomas Lawrence, being at New Haven, was under arrest by Jonas Wood, who exclaimed against your worship that he could have no justice of you, and would prosecute you in New England at the Commission Court. Mr Eaton writes to me for evidence that the money attached in the hands of Thomas Lawrence, due to Jonas, was by order from yourself and so to remain until the said Jonas came hither to answer such particulars as should be laid to his charge. I sent my deposition that by order of your worship the money was attached, and that I questioned not but at your return from the South River they might receive better satisfaction in case you judged it meet to give them an account, this jurisdiction not being subordinate to theirs, matters in difference falling out here, not among them; we have also sent you enclosed the list of the names of the people according to your order.[29]

Only one other fragmentary record of Underhill's activities as Sheriff of Flushing, tantalizing for its brevity and enigmatical quality, has survived. It embodies a deposition made before the magistrates, among whose signa-

[28] *Colonial History of New York*, 619-620.
[29] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, XIV, 143.

tures Underhill's is the first, of three persons as to what they heard Stuyvesant declare in connection with the affairs of Flushing. Remembering the despotic nature of the Director, and that it was a cardinal principle with him that "it was treason to petition against one's magistrates, whether there was cause or not," there is an authentic ring about the testimony of the three deponents. Stuyvesant, they asserted, had roundly declared that Flushing had not made a legal choice, and that all they had done since Captain Tapping went away he regarded as nothing. They were to make a new choice; then he would give his approval.[30] Underhill made no comment on that deposition. He merely signed it as a record of what the deponents testified on the 8th of April, 1652. But, in view of the events which were to develop to a dramatic climax within a year of that date, he may have begun to entertain an uneasy suspicion that Director Stuyvesant's conception of magisterial authority had an ominous affinity to that New England autocracy of which he had unpleasant memories.

[30] *Ibid.*, 177.

CHAPTER XI

THE IMPEACHMENT OF STUYVESANT

NO equal period of Underhill's adventurous life was so crowded with dramatic events as the year 1653. His agency in exposing a conspiracy which threatened to provoke a European war on American soil; his arrest by the Dutch and speedy release; his indictment of the Director of New Netherland; his commission from Providence Plantation as commander-in-chief on land; his seizure of the last remains of Dutch territory in New England; and his complete vindication by a convention at which Dutch delegates were in a majority, all transpired in less than twelve months.

Early in the year, some Indians of Long Island confided to the English at Hempstead that Stuyvesant, at the instigation of his fiscal, Cornelis van Tienhoven, was conspiring with certain other native tribes to make a concerted attack on the English in the various settlements on the Island and along the Sound. That report quickly reached Underhill; and soon after, being in Isaac Allerton's house in New Amsterdam, he heard a statement which seemed to confirm the Indians' assertions. That is, in the presence of the host and Underhill and George Woolsey and Henry Ackerley, of Stamford, a man named Hutchinson, who was a ship's carpenter who lodged in New Amsterdam, testified that he had been present when Stuyvesant and Van Tienhoven were holding a discus-

sion with some Indians. And he affirmed that what he heard was to this effect: the Director asked the Indians if it was true that he and his fiscal had instructed them to burn the houses, poison the wells of the English, and slay them? The Indians thus questioned at once replied that such was the case, for of themselves they "had no occasion so to do, nor thoughts of any such thing, until they were moved to the same by the Governor and fiscal." When cross-questioned by Underhill, Hutchinson said he imagined Stuyvesant thought he was ignorant of the Indian tongue, whereas he "could understand as well as most Dutchmen." [1]

Hutchinson's confident statement and the report of the Long Island Indians, together with other assertions of a similar nature, Underhill naturally communicated to the Governor of New Haven and to some of his friends in Boston. But not to them alone. As the Indians of Long Island had attributed the conspiracy specially to Van Tienhoven, Underhill frankly informed him what he had heard. The sequel was as amazing as it was suspicious. Van Tienhoven immediately dispatched a guard of soldiers to Flushing, with orders to arrest Underhill and convey him to Fort Amsterdam! There he was imprisoned until a statement had been prepared of what he had reported, with which he was charged as a high offence. If the Dutch fiscal expected a retractation, he was swiftly undeceived. Underhill had nothing to retract. And his firmness had such a magical effect that "without trial or hearing, he was dismissed and all his charges borne." One contemporary account, however, of these astonishing proceedings averred that "the Dutch

[1] E. Hazard, *Historical Collections*, II, 223, 246.

detained from the Captain a certain plot of land which was of great concernment to him."[2] Having failed to intimidate Underhill, Van Tienhoven made an effort to enlist favourable Indian testimony by inviting one of the Long Island sachems to visit him in New Amsterdam, promising him not merely safe conduct but also a reward. But the sachem refused to be bribed. The fiscal, he declared, was "a traitor to the English"; he would not go to New Amsterdam; but if Van Tienhoven came to him, he would affirm his treachery to his face.

Had Stuyvesant, influenced by his fiscal, entertained any such conspiracy as that with which so many reports credited him? Had he approached the Indians for their active support in an attack upon the English?

Such a policy was not improbable. Of course its credibility has been hotly contested by Stuyvesant's apologists; but such denial conveniently ignores those factors which are presumptive evidence in its favour. The policy of New Netherland in relation to New England was inevitably influenced by the policy of the Netherlands in relation to old England. Now, in Europe, Cromwell was at war with the Dutch. Than Holland, hardly any nation expressed greater condemnation of the execution of Charles I. Owing to the matrimonial alliance of the house of Orange with the Stuart family, the sympathies of the most influential part of the nation were with the royalists of England. One little regarded proof of that fact is that the bitter anti-Cromwellian caricatures of the period were of Dutch origin. The relations of the two peoples were further strained by the famous Navi-

[2] E. Hazard, *Historical Collections*, II, 223; Massachusetts Archives, II, 330; Connecticut Archives: Towns and Lands, 1629-1790, I, 81 a-h.

gation Act, which was intended to, and did, cripple the maritime industry of the Dutch. At last, in the July of 1652, open war was declared; and peace was not concluded until the April of 1654. Cromwell, of course, had the loyal support of the Puritans of England and New England alike; but in New Netherland it was natural for the Director to share the predominent royalist sentiment of his native land. If the European situation should be reproduced in America, the Dutch must necessarily espouse the cause favoured by their compatriots in Holland. And that would entail warfare against Cromwell's adherents in the English colonies.

Further, if Underhill, in those early months of 1653, could have had access to Stuyvesant's private papers, he would have found there a document which accounted for the Director's policy. For the Amsterdam directors of the West India Company clearly understood the probable American reactions of the European situation; and in the letter they wrote to Stuyvesant in the August of 1652, when war had begun between England and Holland, they gave him definite instructions as to the policy he should pursue if the conflict spread to America. After expressing a hope, which, apparently, they had little confidence would be realized, that Stuyvesant had been able to arrange a "league" or "closer union" with the people of New England, the directors continued: "We have, nevertheless, deemed it prudent, under the circumstances, to recommend you most urgently, that you arm all freemen, soldiers and sailors, and fit them for defence, give them proper officers, appoint places of rendezvous, provide them with ammunition, and put the fortifications in a good state of defence, to which end we send you for your

better protection such war material as the enclosed invoices and lists will show." Despite that pious hope of "closer union" with the English with which they began their letter, the Amsterdam directors had no confidence in any of that race. "You must not trust the English," they added, "but keep an eye upon them, that you may not be deceived by their sinister machinations under a pretext of probity, as we have been here. If it should happen, which we will not hope, that the New England people take up this matter and try to injure you and our good inhabitants, *then we consider it proper and necessary that you should make use of the Indians* who, as we learn, do not like the English." [3]

What could be more explicit than those "most urgent" instructions? And they were quite natural for the directors to make, for they were fully aware that in the event of war between the Dutch and English colonists of America the former would be heavily handicapped by their great disparity of numbers. At that time, the population of all New Netherland did not exceed 10,000, many of whom were English; whereas the New England colonies could boast a strength of fully 50,000 people. The directors saw, and Stuyvesant must have realized even more clearly, that only by an alliance with the Indians could that fatal numerical inferiority be partly redressed. It follows, there was nothing improbable in Stuyvesant's plans to "make use of the Indians."

While it is possible for the historian, looking backward over the centuries from the security of his study, to take a calm view of those events and pooh-pooh the idea that Stuyvesant should have entertained any thought of an

[3] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, XIV, 186.

alliance with Indians, such a comfortable outlook was not possible for the people who were living in those anxious days. There is abundant evidence that the rulers and people of New England were genuinely alarmed by the news they received from Underhill. They had every reason to be. The charred embers of homesteads, and the poignant memories of friends and wives and children who had been cruelly done to death by natives were potent reminders of what an Indian assault might mean.

So real, indeed, was the alarm of the New England magistrates that a meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies was hurriedly summoned to take counsel how to meet the threatened danger. This extraordinary gathering took place on the 2nd of April, 1653, and at the time it was thought that a fuller meeting might be postponed until the 11th of May. But the New Haven delegates had "such further clear evidence that appears to them of so hideous a plot acted by the Dutch" that the next assembly was called for the 19th of April instead.

Meanwhile correspondence was opened with Stuyvesant to whom eventually the Commissioners submitted a long statement of the English case against the Dutch; but as the Director's replies were deemed unsatisfactory, it was decided, on the 2nd of May, to appoint three representatives to proceed to New Amsterdam to make enquiries there. Two of these were from Boston, Captain John Leverett and Lieutenant William Davis; the third, Francis Newman, was a New Haven magistrate. Their instructions included the following statement: "You shall herewith also receive two letters from Capt. Underhill (which you shall conceal from all such as will take advantage against him), according to the tenor whereof we

conceive himself and the English at Hempstead will produce such evidence as the case requires."[4] As evidence of the gravity with which the situation was regarded, it may be noted that the force proposed to be raised in the event of war was fixed at 500, Massachusetts undertaking to provide more than 300 of that total.

As might, perhaps, have been anticipated, the mission of Leverett and Davis and Newman to New Amsterdam was a failure. It proved impossible to come to any agreement with Stuyvesant as to where and how the enquiry should be conducted; and the Director, as in his letters, protested his innocence of any intention to rouse the Indians against the English. What else could he do? With the probable exception of Van Tienhoven, no one had any knowledge of that Director's letter among his private papers which advised him that it would be "proper and necessary" to "make use of the Indians." To the delegates, as to the Commissioners, Stuyvesant assumed great indignation that reference had been made to the Amboyna massacre, saying, "As touching what happened in the Amboyna business in the East Indies is unknown unto us, neither hath there been any of us there, therefore we cease to answer to the same or to trouble yourselves or us therein." In truth, the precedent was too similar to be pleasant. Thirty years earlier the Dutch in the East Indies, pretending to act upon reports from the Japanese, had destroyed the English establishment on the island of Amboyna, and tortured and executed ten of the occupants. It was indeed puerile of Stuyvesant to pretend ignorance of a deed which, for a generation, had been the subject of angry contention be-

[4] E. Hazard, *Historical Collections*, II.

tween England and Holland, and for which, by the treaty of the April of 1654, the latter country agreed to pay substantial compensation.[5]

In his negotiations with the three delegates, Stuyvesant made an adroit attempt to effect a bold stroke of diplomacy on his own account. He knew his Amsterdam Directors were anxious lest the war between England and Holland should spread to America, and so involve all their expenditure in complete loss. What if he could persuade the people of New England to conclude a treaty of amity irrespective of the war in Europe? Hence he suggested to Leverett and Davis and Newman that they would all be more profitably employed in arranging a friendly union "without regard to the hostilities in Europe." But the New England delegates were too astute to be diverted from their mission by such a ruse. In a final paper to Stuyvesant they declared that if he, or by the Indians, should offer any injury to any of the English in New Netherland, either because of the "national quarrel" or for any other cause, the United Colonies would hold him responsible, for they "would not suffer their countrymen to be oppressed."

Leaving that stern valediction behind them, Leverett and Davis and Newman departed from New Amsterdam

[5] When news, naturally distorted, reached England of the agitations of these days, a pamphlet was published with the resounding title of: "The Second Part of the Amboyna Tragedy; or a Faithful Account of a Bloody, Treacherous, and Cruel Plot of the Dutch in America, Purporting the Total Ruin and Murder of all the English Colonists in New England; Extracted from the Various Letters lately Written from New England to Different Merchants in London." The chief interest of this vigorous polemic consists in its reference to "Captain John Underhill, a person of courage, experience and prudence, who, valuing Christian blood higher than Riches and Treasures of the Indians, although an offer was made to him of a Hogshead of Wampum, being their Currency, to retreat his forces, nevertheless hazarded an attack on the Indians in vindication of the Dutch, by which, in one night, Fourteen hundred Savages were killed."—Albany Records, VIII.

to prosecute their enquiries elsewhere. Some of the evidence they finally embodied in their report was taken at Stamford; but the most damaging testimony was heard, on oath, in Underhill's home at Flushing.

It is not necessary to reproduce all the Indian depositions; but as Underhill's good faith was involved in the reports he had made to New Haven and Boston, one typical example must be cited. The scene was Underhill's home; those present included the magistrates of Flushing, and the clerk, Edward Hart, by whom the record was made on oath; the deponent was an Indian named Ronnesoke, who was interpreted by "Adam the Indian, who spoke English very well."

Ronnesoke's relation was to the effect that when the chief Ninigrett was in New Amsterdam in the winter he sent for him to go thither, but that he refused. A little later, however, Ninigrett visited him in Long Island under the pretence that he wished to borrow some corn;

but when he came there, he took him from his Indians, and, by themselves, told him that he had brought a bag of wampum to hire as many Indians as he could upon Long Island to cut off the English, those of Hempstead nominated in particular; and he said that he would cut off Stamford and the other small plantations of the main, and the Governor would cut off Middleburrow and the other plantations of English near Manhattan himself. And Ninigrett told me, Ronnesoke, that the Indians should come and fetch ammunition, powder, lead and guns, as much as they would, and they should go on in their design as soon as they could, and they should want for nothing. After this parley, Ronnesoke went to prove the other Indians, and by so doing the plot was discovered. Ronnesoke, being at the Manhattans, the Governor asked him

wherefore he did not go upon that design, and bid him go on and he should want for nothing.[6]

Many other Indians came to Underhill's home in those mid-May days of 1653, and their testimonies were heard by his fellow magistrates and other friends. They all naturally retained a vivid recollection of that exciting experience, and shortly thereafter they put on record some account of its incidents. They recalled especially how they had heard Captain Leverett state that Stuyvesant was so incensed with Underhill as to threaten revenge on him; how Leverett had also advised Underhill to "shift for himself"; and how, also, Leverett had "promised to be with us within ten or fourteen days with a company of New England soldiers." All this was affirmed by "forty odd, being present at Flushing in Captain Underhill's house."[7] Some of the evidences gathered by the three delegates specially implicated Van Tienhoven, this being particularly the case with the testimony of the wife of Adriaen van der Donck—a daughter of Francis Doughty—which they noted as "reported to us at Flushing in Captain Underhill's house." In fact, it is clear that as the English in the threatened settlements looked to Underhill as their natural leader, so the delegates relied chiefly on him in all their investigations. Consequently his position was one of extreme danger, which Leverett recognized by his promise to return shortly with a company of New England soldiers.

But Leverett did not keep his promise. The fault was probably not his own. As the sequel will show, Massachusetts was eventually to adopt a selfish and arrogant

[6] Massachusetts Archives, II, 331.
[7] Connecticut Archives: Towns and Lands, 1627-1790, I, 81 a-h.

policy in connection with this first test of the solidarity of the United Colonies.

Within a short time, then, after the three delegates began their return journey to Boston, Underhill realized that, so far as the Long Island English were concerned, it rested with him to justify the confidence of his fellow countrymen and do his utmost to avert the danger which threatened all alike.

And it was at this crisis, on the 20th of May, 1653, he issued his indictment of Stuyvesant and his government, the final words of which were: "Written by me, John Underhill." The full text of the document was as follows:

Vindication of Captain John Underhill in the name of as many of the Dutch and English as the matter concerns, which justly impels us to renounce the iniquitous government of Peter Stuyvesant over the inhabitants living and dwelling on Long Island, America.

I. We declare that it is right and proper to defend ourselves and our rights, which belong to a free people, against the abuses of the above named government.

II. We have transported ourselves hither at our own cost, and many among us have purchased their lands from the Indians, the right owners thereof. But a great portion of the lands which we occupy being, as yet, unpaid for, the Indians come daily and complain that they have been deceived by the Dutch Secretary, called Cornelis, whom they have characterized even in the presence of Stuyvesant, as a rogue, a knave and a liar; asserting that he himself had put their names down in the book, and saying that this was not a just and lawful payment, but a pretence and fraud similar to that which occasioned the destruction of Joseph Hutchinson and Mr. Collins, to the number of nine persons.

III. He hath unlawfully retained from several persons their lands which they had purchased from the natives, and which were confirmed to them under the hand and seal of the previous Governor.

IV. He hath unlawfully imposed taxes contrary to the privileges of free men: namely, six stivers per acre, chimney money and head money; the tenth part of all our grain, flax, hemp and tobacco; the tenth part of butter and cheese from those who pasture cattle; excessive duties on exported goods, fifteen stivers for a beaver; all which taxes are to be paid by the poor farmer to maintain a lazy horde of tyrants over innocent subjects.

V. He hath, in violation of liberty of conscience, and contrary to hand and seal, enforced articles upon the people, ordering them otherwise, against the laws of God and man, to quit the country within two months.

VI. He hath imprisoned both English and Dutch, without trial, setting them at liberty again, after the manner of a Popish inquisition, to their great sorrow, damage and loss of time, himself not having any patent from James, King of England, the right grantor thereof.

VII. He hath also imposed general laws forbidding the inhabitants to sell their goods or to brew their grain, without the approbation of the government.

VIII. He hath neglected to avenge English and Dutch blood shed by the Indians since the peace.

IX. He hath treacherously and undoubtedly conspired, as proved, to murder all the English.

X. He hath been guilty of barbarous cruelty towards Mr. Jacob Wolfertsen and his wife, at the time of the birth of their child.

XI. He hath acted treacherously towards Thomas Newton, for, notwithstanding the government hath promised him safe and secure conduct, he hath ordered his arrest and extradition.

XII. He hath been guilty of the unheard-of act of striking, with his cane, an old gentleman, a member of

his council, and hath publicly threatened every freeman who does not conform to his pleasure.

XIII. He hath, moreover, imposed magistrates on freemen without election and voting. This great autocracy and tyranny is too grievous for any brave Englishman and good Christian any longer to tolerate. In addition to all this, the Dutch have proclaimed war against every Englishman who lives wherever he may wish or like.

The above grounds are sufficient for all honest hearts that seek the glory of God and their own peace and prosperity, to throw off this tyrannical yoke. Accept and submit ye, then to the Parliament of England, and beware of becoming traitors to one another, for the sake of your own quiet and welfare.[8]

Such was Underhill's Declaration of Independence. By the Dutch of those days, it was characterized as "seditious and mutinous"; and pro-Dutch writers of more modern times have appropriated both adjectives, and added that it was "open treason" to issue such a document.

But how familiar much of it seems! Ignoring the counts ten to twelve, which, though no doubt important when written, are of little moment now, the other ten articles may be paralleled in a startling manner from a state paper which even pro-Dutch historians regard as sacrosanct among documents of that nature.

With "our rights, which belong to a free people" may be coupled "that all men are . . . endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights"; to read "we have transported ourselves hither at our own cost" is to be reminded of the Jeffersonian dictum that "our emigration and settlement here . . . were at the expense of our own blood and treasure"; when it was affirmed of

[8] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York,* II, 151-152.

Stuyvesant that he "hath unlawfully imposed taxes contrary to the privileges of free men" there was a foreshadowing of that other ruler who was to be indicted "for imposing taxes on us without our consent"; the "violation of liberty of conscience" postulated the claim that in religion all men should be free to follow "the dictates of conscience"; such as were "imprisoned without trial" were the forerunners of those who were "deprived in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury"; the Dutch Director's conspiracy with Indians to "murder all the English" anticipated the crime of George III in endeavouring "to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages"; and to "impose magistrates on free men without election and voting" was comparable to "he hath made judges dependent on his own will alone for the tenure of their offices." Underhill, in brief, impeached Stuyvesant for his "tyrannical yoke"; later Americans indicted George III as "a tyrant, . . . unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

Let it be remembered, then, to Underhill's honour and prevision, that in fundamental principles he anticipated the Declaration of Independence by more than a hundred and twenty years. That is his complete justification against the "seditious and mutinous" charges of Stuyvesant's apologists. As loyal Americans, those apologists would be the first to acclaim the justness and rightness of the Declaration made in Philadelphia on the 4th of July, 1776; and logic demands that the same approval should be accorded to the Declaration made at Flushing on the 20th of May, 1653. If a "long train of abuses" was exoneration for the sponsors of the Declaration of 1776 to "throw off such a government," it follows

that the abuses of New Netherland rule were ample extenuation of the Declaration of 1653. But Underhill did not have to wait until the Revolutionary era for the vindication of his conduct.

Of all the heroic deeds of his life, that which demanded the rarest courage was his impeachment of Stuyvesant. To the Declaration of 1776, fifty-six signatures were attached; to that of 1653, only one. While there were many at Flushing and elsewhere who agreed with Underhill, they, as they confessed a year or so later, "in regard of peril and displeasure" could not "with safety do as we would."[9] Yet, despite the proximity of Fort Amsterdam, and the remoteness of English help, he did not hesitate. For a few days, perchance, he may have counted upon Leverett's return with that "company of New England soldiers"; when they did not come, he realized that he must seek elsewhere the support without which his indictment would have been made in vain. He knew, too, that Stuyvesant would lose no time in effecting his threatened revenge.

Hence his journey to Newport, for news had probably reached him that the Island Assembly there was eager to take action against the Dutch.[10] From thence, on the 23rd of May, Underhill addressed a letter to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, the hurrying, staccato sentences of which are evidence of the tense emotion under which it was penned.

Honored Gentlemen [he wrote]: My services and loyalty attend you in the Parliament's service, to do you good and honour you in all your designs. It is true oftentimes

[9] Connecticut Archives: Towns and Lands, 1627-1790, 81 f.
[10] S. G. Arnold, *History of the State of Rhode Island*, I, 246-247.

necessity hath no law; I am as Jepthah, forced to lay my life in my hands to save English blood from destruction. Your agents departed, news came to me to be gone; our danger is great. I pray God move your hearts to vindicate the common cause of England against the Dutch; I shall be ready to attend you with all safety to our English nation at home. To that end, I requested our neighbours of Rhode Island to afford some small assistance to preserve all in safety. I trust you will make haste; the cause is God's and ours. In the meantime I shall be tender in shedding blood: the Lord destroy the opposite of this work; and so I shall rest, Yours to command, John Underhill.[11]

On the very day that letter was received by the Commissioners, the Island Assembly at Newport took definite action. The form it assumed was recorded on a document treasured among the archives of Connecticut, which reads:

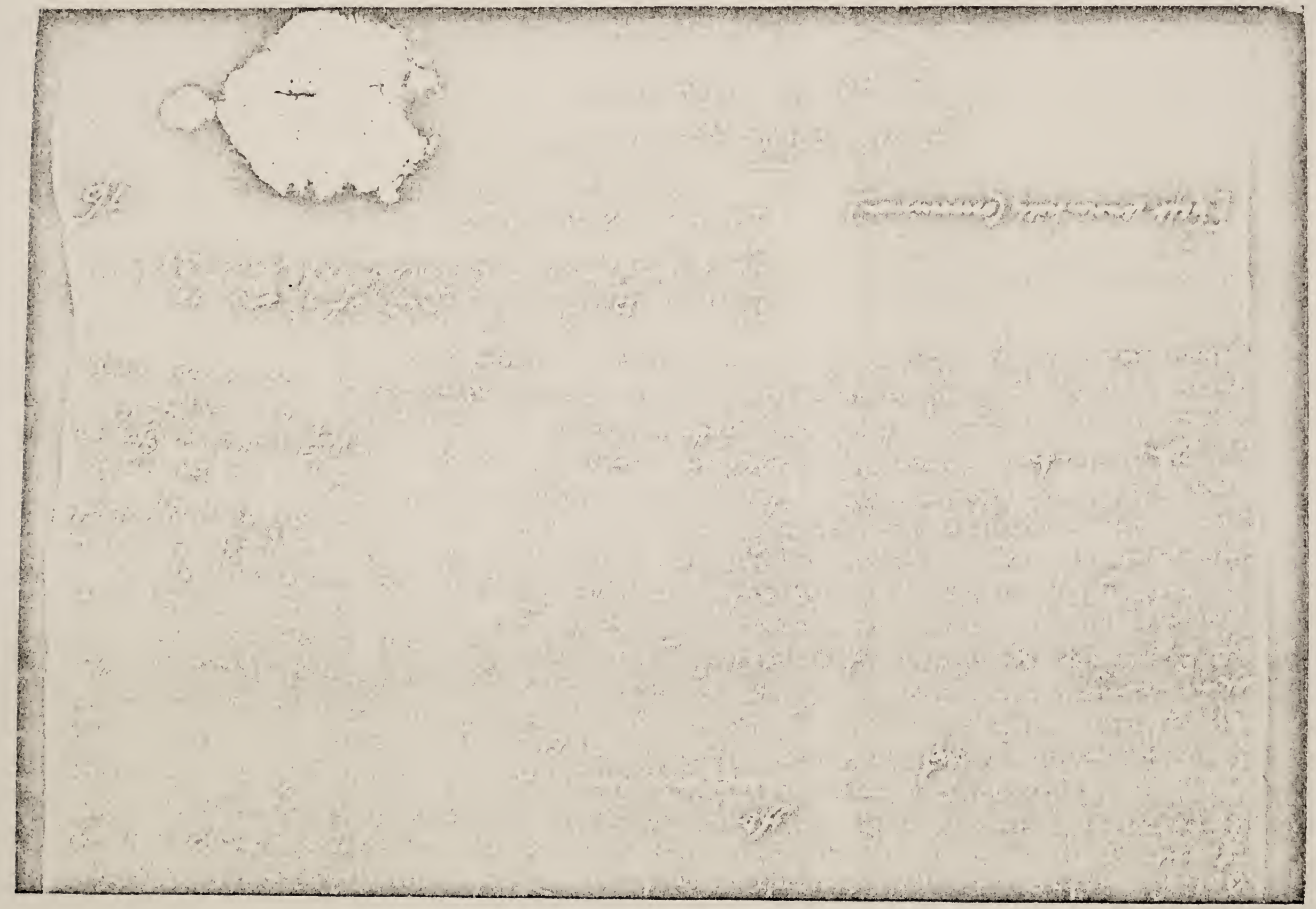
This certifieth whom it may concern that whereas we, the free inhabitants of Providence Plantations, having received authority and power from the Right Honorable Council of State, by authority of Parliament, to defend ourselves from the Dutch, the enemies of the Commonwealth of England, as also to offend them, as we shall think necessary, as also to seize all Dutch vessels or ships that shall come within our harbours or within our power; and whereas, by true information and great complaint of the servile condition that many of our countrymen, English natives living on Long Island, are subjected to by the cruel tyranny of the Dutch power at the Manhattans and the desperate hazards they are subject to by the bloody plottings of the Governor and Fiscal there, who are evidently declared to have drawn in and engaged the Indians by bribes and promises to cut off and de-

[11] Massachusetts Archives, II, 339.

stroy the English natives in those parts, by which conspiracy our countrymen are proscribed and put in great hazard and in continual fear to be cut off and murdered unless some speedy and suitable remedy be provided. These premises, considered and well weighed by our General Assembly met the 19th of May, 1653, it was agreed and determined by the said Assembly that it was necessary, both to defend ourselves and to rescue them, to give, and do hereby give, by virtue of our authority received as before, full power and authority to Mr. Wm. Dyre and Captain John Underhill to take all Dutch ships and vessels as shall come into their power, and to defend themselves from the Dutch and all enemies of the Commonwealth of England. And we further think it necessary that they shall offend the Dutch after all inducements used to draw them by indulgence and to prevent the effusion of blood; provided also that no violence be used nor no detriment sustained to them that shall submit to the Commonwealth of England; which being observed, then they may offend them at the disposition of Capt. Wm. Dyre and Capt. John Underhill, who, by advice and counsel of three councillors, one of which councillors concurring, have power to bring the Dutch to conformity to the Commonwealth of England, provided the State's part be secured and all vessels taken be brought into the harbour at Newport and according to the law be there tried and the State's part secured; provided also that those premised and authorized by us do give account of their proceedings to the President and Assistants of the colony, and accordingly receive further instructions to order their affairs by the President and Assistants aforesaid. It is further resolved that Capt. John Underhill is constituted commander-in-chief upon the land, Capt. Wm. Dyre commander-in-chief at sea; yet to join in counsel to be assistant each to other for the propagating of the service premised for the honour of the Commonwealth of England in which they are employed. Given under the seal

COMMISSION ISSUED BY THE COLONY OF PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS IN 1653 APPOINTING CAPTAIN JOHN UNDERHILL COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ON LAND AND CAPTAIN WILLIAM DYRE ON SEA FOR THE SEIZURE OF DUTCH PROPERTY

Original in the State Library, Hartford, Connecticut



of the Colony of Providence Plantations this present 24th May 1653. Per me, Wilm. Lytherland, General Recorder.[12]

While Rhode Island acted thus promptly, Massachusetts was indifferent to Underhill's plea for haste. An attentive reading of his commission will show that the Newport Assembly, in harmony with his impeachment of Stuyvesant, had linked the local danger with the larger issue of the war between England and Holland; and Cromwell must have been gratified to learn that the Commonwealth was so loyally supported in New England. But it was that larger issue which Massachusetts declined to consider. The Commissioners held many meetings and indulged in protracted discussions. At length, as a final attempt to secure a decision, Governor Eaton prepared a careful statement of his view of the facts, in the course of which he wrote: "What rash attempts some from Rhode Island have made against the Dutch, and how far they may now engage with Captain Underhill in this national quarrel, and what consequences may be either to those islands or to the Colonies, at least the smaller plantations, is worthy of serious consideration."[13] So far as the New Haven and Connecticut Commissioners were concerned, the consideration was serious enough. Their colonies were nearest the danger zone. They would be the first to suffer. But the other Commissioners were also so appreciative of the situation that they, with one exception, voted for a declaration of war. It was at that juncture Massachusetts intervened and insisted that the question should be decided by the General Court.

[12] Connecticut Archives: Towns and Lands, 1627-1790, I, 76.
[13] E. Hazard, *Historical Collections*, II, 251.

By that assembly all the appeals and arguments of New Haven and Connecticut were completely disregarded. The Bay State did not "understand" they were "called upon to make a present war against the Dutch." They admitted that the proofs and apprehensions of the "late execrable plot" were of such weight as to "induce us to believe in the reality thereof"; but the situation might be met by "sending messengers to require satisfaction"![14]

What was the explanation? A historian who cannot be charged with unfriendliness to Massachusetts suggested that "the merchants of Boston carried on too profitable a trade with those parts (New Amsterdam), to desire at once to break it up";[15] an English student, after characterizing the Massachusetts policy as "selfish and unscrupulous," affirmed that the colony "was assuredly not justified in acting as it did, in retaining the advantages of confederation and repudiating obligations so imposed."[16] But the Bay State, whether under King or Protector, had only one policy when material interests were involved. Like the "General C." of the *Bigelow Papers* of her famous son:

> But consistency still wuz a part of his plan,—
> He's been true to *one* party, an' thet is himself.

When the amazing *non sequitur* of Massachusetts—the Dutch *had* been guilty of an "execrable plot" but not guilty enough to be attacked!—became known, Underhill understood why Leverett and his promised "company of New England soldiers" never reached Flushing. And he knew now that no assistance of any kind was to

[14] *Ibid.*, 254.
[15] J. S. Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, I, 345.
[16] J. A. Doyle, *The Puritan Colonies*, I, 301.

be expected from the Bay State. On the contrary, the authorities there were so opposed to war with the Dutch that, for the time being, all the active preparations of New Haven and Connecticut were paralyzed. The Rhode Island people, being outside the confederacy, and weakened by their unfortunate division, were more consistent, but also limited in their resources. All the Newport Assembly could do was to provide some small arms and twenty volunteers. Underhill's position, consequently, was that of a general without an army. He was, however, able to recruit a small band of his own, on condition, apparently, of becoming responsible for their maintenance and pay.

Unequipped for any considerable campaign, it yet occurred to him that there was a territorial anachronism which he could rectify. During the time he spent at Saybrook Fort in 1637, he learnt all about the trading-post and fort which the Dutch had established some forty miles up the Connecticut River. It was in 1633 that the Manhattan people began their occupation in a definite manner by the erection of the building known as the House of Good Hope or the House of Hope; and it had been their intention to also construct a fort at the mouth of the river. In the latter project they were forestalled by the New Englanders with Saybrook Fort; and another little band had sailed defiantly past the House of Hope to found the town of Windsor higher up the stream. Hence the Dutch post became isolated between Saybrook and Windsor. Nor was that all. As the worthy Diedrich Knickerbocker complained, "the Yankees continued their interlopings, and at length had the audacity to *squat* themselves down within the jurisdiction of Fort Good

Hope." That is, three years after the building of the House of Hope, Thomas Hooker and his flock had laid the foundations of Hartford.

As the years went by, that anomalous condition naturally led to constant disagreements between Dutch and English. In 1641 Kieft decided to send an officer and fifty soldiers "to fortify our House the Hope, and prevent the repetition of such hostility as the English have wickedly committed against our people, and maintain our right and territory." A year later, two deputies from Hartford interviewed Kieft and his Council for the purpose of persuading them to surrender the place; but Kieft, justly arguing that the Dutch were there first, said the utmost he could do was to offer the fort and lands to Hartford on condition that the town agreed to pay an annual rental to the States General of a tenth part of the produce of the lands. Hartford would not consider such terms; it was probably decided that it would be cheaper in the end to apply a squeezing-out process. So the bickering went on. "Every vexation that ingenuity could contrive," Brodhead declared, "was practiced against the Hollanders"; and a Hartford magistrate was reported to have affirmed that "the English were fools in suffering the Dutch in the centre." Hence the policy was adopted of "Crowd on—crowd the Dutch out"; and at last no more than thirty acres were left uninvaded. Yet, officially, even so late as the date of the Hartford treaty—1650—the English agreed that the Dutch should "hold and enjoy all the lands" in their possession.

But that was a condition which could not continue indefinitely. That oasis of a Dutch territory was useless to New Netherland and was an obstacle to the develop-

ment of Hartford. It was too small an area to become the prototype of a Luxemburg; and there were not then enough gamblers to induce the evolution of a Monaco. So long as it existed, it would always contain the possibilities of creating such dangerous problems of extraterritoriality as occurred when an Indian captive fled thither from her English master. The House of Hope and its lands, indeed, had become an inter-racial nuisance, and clamoured for extinction.

Yet the Hartford people were reluctant to tackle the problem. Nor can the Wethersfield settlers be historically credited with that *ruse de guerre* so amusingly attributed to them by the facetious Diedrich Knickerbocker, who would have us understand that the garrison was surprised in gluttonous slumber, with the result that "in an instant the flag of their High Mightinesses was lowered, and the Yankee standard elevated in its stead, being a dried codfish by way of a spread eagle." Besides, all this was chronicled as happening under the rule of William the Testy, whereas the Dutch lost their House of Hope during the regime of Peter the Headstrong.

For it was Underhill who, in the June of 1653, ended that territorial anachronism.

Hartford reaped the benefit: his recompense, in life, was continual worry for some years by legal claims and counterclaims; and, in history, to have his action misconstrued to his dishonour. As to the latter, pro-Dutch writers have declared that "Underhill went into this war for profit," and that he used his commission "to better his private estate."[17] More impartial historians, however,

[17] E. B. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland,* II, 234; J. R. Brodhead, *History of New York,* I, 358.

in commenting on his seizure of the House of Hope, have pointed out that it effected "the permanent annexation of the Dutch territory at Hartford," or, more sweepingly, that it "wiped out" the "last vestige of Dutch dominion in New England." [18]

Fortunately it is possible to piece together from contemporary documents a detailed narrative of the various stages of Underhill's action, and its sequel. First among those documents is a copy of the formal notice he posted on the door of the fort, which read:

Whereas, by virtue of commission granted to me by Providence Colony, authorized by the Council of State, and I having in the said commission full power for land service against the Dutch, in these terms following: "It is further resolved that Captain John Underhill shall be commander-in-chief in the service against the Dutch by land and Mr. Wm. Dyer commander-in-chief by water," by virtue of the said commission according to Act of Parliament, and with permission from the General Court of Hartford, I, John Underhill, do seize upon this house and land thereunto belonging as Dutch goods claimed by the West India Company in Amsterdam, enemies to the Commonwealth of England, and thus to remain seized till further determined by the said State. Hartford this 27th of June 1653, in the presence of Nathaniel Chur and James Brock.[19]

On the following day, June 28th, some of his friends, for reasons which do not appear on the records, advised Underhill to make a confirmation of the seizure, which he did in the presence of two other witnesses, namely,

[18] J. A. Doyle, *The Puritan Colonies*, I, 300; John Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, I, 307. Fiske's comment that Underhill's seizure of property on land showed him "to have been a master of the art of 'liberal construction'" was obviously made in momentary forgetfulness that his commission made him commander on *land*.

[19] Connecticut Archives: Towns and Lands, 1629-1790, I, 81 b.

William Whiteing and John Ingerson.[20] Those two confiscations were testified to on oath before Governor John Haynes on the 12th of October, 1653.[21]

Why? The explanation is that on the last-named date Underhill sold his interest in the property to two Hartford men, William Gibbons and Richard Lord, and that he testified his seizures before Governor Haynes to assure the purchasers of their legal title. In so doing, however, he was most careful to qualify the sale by expressly excepting "the State's part." That clause—"always provided the State's part excepted"—was repeated several times. And, in justice to Underhill, special attention should be given to his assertion that his original seizure was made *"with permission from the General Court of Hartford."* [22]

But there are two other documents which complicate the history of this incident, these being depositions of Benedict Arnold and William Dyer, of Newport, each of which was made in the May of 1666, thirteen years after the event to which they referred.

Benedict Arnold—the great-grandfather of the traitor of that name—affirmed that Underhill returned to Newport in the August of 1653, and that in that month he sold the House of Hope to one Ralph Earle, of Portsmouth, for twenty pounds, giving Earle "a writing" to that effect. Concerning that "writing" Arnold confessed that it was "drawn up short and in general terms," and also that "it mentioned no particular parcel of goods, house or lands." [23] As to this alleged sale, Underhill had,

[20] *Ibid.*, 81 c.
[21] *Ibid.*, 82.
[22] *Ibid.*, 81 b.
[23] *Ibid.*, 87.

a year earlier than Arnold's deposition, that is, in the April of 1665, written a full account to the younger Winthrop. What happened, he affirmed, was that in the midst of disagreements with the Newport authorities "because I would not suffer the soldiers to despoil the well-affected Dutch farmers," "the said Ralph came upon me, with guile, to buy all my right in prizals by sea and land, several negroes, taken by my commission" for twenty pounds in wampum. Having made this general bargain, Earle insisted upon a specific sale of the Dutch property; "to whom I answered," Underhill continued, "I could not sell it, according to the true intent of my seizure." All the satisfaction Earle could extract from Underhill was that "writing," "short and in general terms," which was the subject of Arnold's deposition.[24] At that date, remembering the terms of the notice he had posted on the House of Hope—"to remain seized till further determined by the said State"—Underhill had no certitude of any personal right in the Dutch property apart from that which would be due to him as prize recompense.

It is evident from several related facts that the "writing" of Arnold's testimony was worthless in the matter of establishing a legal claim to the House of Hope. For one thing, it did not mention that house or lands; for another, in all the subsequent proceedings the "writing" was never produced in the original or a copy! Why? There was an occasion when the production of such a document would have been decisive. That occasion was six years prior to the date of Arnold's deposition; for in the October of 1660, Underhill entered a formal

[24] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 191-192.

protest at Hartford to the effect that Ralph Earle's claim to the Dutch property was "contrary to law and truth." [25] The conclusive answer to that protest would have been the production of the "writing." But it was not produced.

If, then, Arnold's deposition was useless in establishing Earle's claim, what was the value of the testimony of William Dyer? That was to the effect that in September 1653, William Gibbons and Richard Lord had visited the deponent to request that he, being then on the eve of sailing for England, would procure for them in England "a good title" to the House of Hope and lands, which they had bought from Underhill.[26] The fatal flaw of Dyer's deposition is that in two places it specified September as the date of the request from Gibbons and Lord, whereas Underhill's tentative deed of sale to them was not made until the 12th of October. And in that deed, as has already been quoted, he was most careful to use the qualifying clause, "always provided the State's part excepted."

What, however, effectually disposes of the Earle claim is a document of much later date, namely, the 17th of December, 1679, which testified that certain lands then in the undisputed possession of the heirs of William Gibbons were the acres "purchased by Mr. William Gibbons of Capt. Underhill, sometimes called the Dutch land." [27] So the "guile" of Ralph Earle was circumvented at long last.

But there was another phase of the House of Hope seizure not wholly to the credit of the Hartford magis-

[25] Connecticut Archives: Towns and Lands, 1629-1790, I, 83.
[26] *Ibid.*, 85.
[27] Connecticut Archives: Private Controversies, 1642-1716, II, 107 a.

trates. Impelled, apparently, by an order from Cromwell's Council of State—war still waging between England and Holland—they, on the 6th of April, 1654, declared "the Dutch House the Hope, with the lands, buildings and fences thereto belonging" were "sequestered and reserved, all particular claims or right thereunto notwithstanding, in behalf of the Commonwealth of England." And the General Court at Hartford also sternly prohibited "all persons whatsoever from improving the premises by virtue of any title . . . without the approbation of this Court."

At the time that order was made, Underhill had no cause to complain. In his tentative deed of sale he had expressly exempted "the State's part." Besides, only ten months had passed since his seizure, and the question of time was important. At that period it was a rule that the sale of enemy property seized in war was conditioned by the phrase "for a year and a day," the custom being that if, after the lapse of that time, there had been no legal recovery of the property, then the conditional sale became valid.

When, however, after nearly two years had passed, the resolution of the Hartford General Court remained unrescinded, Underhill justly concluded that the time had come to make a definite claim of his rights. This he did in the form of a long petition, which was presented to the General Court on the 17th of May, 1655.

In the preamble to that petition he recalled the fact that he had possessed dual authority for his seizure of the Dutch property, namely, the commission of Providence Colony and the permission of the General Court of Connecticut, thus furnishing by anticipation an un-

answerable rejoinder to those critics who were falsely to assert that he was armed only by a worthless letter-of-marque. The main burden of the petition, however, was an earnest and manly appeal to the Connecticut deputies that they would either afford him their assistance or suffer him "peaceably to proceed in the sale" of the Dutch property.

Underhill's reasons why his request should be granted were many and cogent. He recalled his services in the Pequot war when the river settlements were in "great extremity," and claimed that he had been "true and loyal" to his utmost ability. "I am constrained," he resumed, "to deal plainly in this case. I have from the beginning to this day proceeded with all due honour and respect to these Colonies." He had been patient, too, in waiting for the settlement of his personal share in the property he had seized; but now far more time than the stipulated year and a day had elapsed, and there was no reason why the definitive sale should be any longer delayed. It was time "the State's part" was decided, time, too, that the "expended charge" should be defrayed, and time, also, that himself and company had "their proper right according to order of State."

There were urgent reasons for pressing his own claims. He cited the testimony of the Flushing people as to the dangers and losses in which he became involved by his part in collecting Indian evidence of the Dutch conspiracy; and he now added: "I have engaged myself to three score and odd pounds debt for the soldiers which must be paid, and daily expect my goods to be seized, which will hardly amount to the sum." Under all those circumstances he appealed to the Court for their authority

to grant a bill of sale of the Dutch house and lands. He presumed, he declared, that that honoured Court would not expose him to great expense and remote travels to vindicate his just cause before the Protector, who doubtless would commiserate the cause of a soldier who had served England, Holland and that country those thirty years, having sufficient attestation of the loyal service he had performed and not without hope to live to do that colony further service.

And, finally, as was Underhill's wont when deeply moved, he enforced his appeal with the following Biblical allusion. "Desiring the Almighty God, who hath the key of David that opens and no man shuts,[28] direct the hearts of this honourable Court as may be to the glory of God, the honour of this Court, my comfort and relief in this present distress, humbly taking my leave, I rest your Worships' devoted servant to command, John Underhill." [29]

But if the key of the house of David was laid upon the shoulders of the Connecticut deputies it was used for shutting and not for opening. In complete indifference to all Underhill's arguments and appeals, the General Court, on the same day on which the petition was presented, decided to maintain its own seizure, and refused to "allow or approve" Underhill's proposed sale of the Dutch property. Was that a "saving-one's-face" decision? Subsequent events are in favour of an affirmative answer. For when Underhill, justly indignant to have been so callously treated, took the law into his own

[28] "And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; so he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open."—Isaiah xxii:22.

[29] Connecticut Archives: Towns and Lands, 1629-1790, I, 81 a-h.

hands, defied the General Court, and executed a final deed of sale to Gibbons and Lord on the 16th of July, 1655, the Connecticut magistrates quietly accepted the situation. It is to be hoped he received far more than the "three score and odd pounds" for which he, assuming the burden which belonged to the colony, had made himself responsible.

There was one sequel, however, to his impeachment of Stuyvesant which, as a full vindication of his action, must have given him great satisfaction.

If the text of his Proclamation of the 20th of May, 1653 is carefully examined, it will be seen that out of the ten articles dealing with vital matters, only one related to that Dutch plot which was in harmony with the Amsterdam Director's advice to "make use of the Indians"; all others were so many indictments of various phases of Stuyvesant's mis-government, with an incidental but significant allusion to the sinister rôle played by Cornelis van Tienhoven.

Van Tienhoven provides an "acid test" of Stuyvesant's administration. An autocrat by nature, the Director possessed unlimited power in the selection of his officials, and therefore was solely responsible for the appointment of Van Tienhoven to the important offices he successively held. Yet at the time he conferred those promotions Stuyvesant was well acquainted with events which were conclusive evidence of his official's gross immorality. His character, indeed, had been vividly and truthfully portrayed by the Dutch pen who wrote that "Remonstrance" against the New Netherland government which had been addressed to the States General in the July of 1649. A few of the phrases of that character sketch are

sufficient to indicate the nature of the man whom Stuyvesant was content to honour:

> He is crafty, subtle, intelligent—good gifts when properly applied. . . . He is a great adept at dissimulation, and even when laughing intends to bite, and professes the warmest friendship where he hates the deepest. . . . In his words and acts he is loose, false, deceitful and given to lying; prodigal of promises, and when it comes to performance nobody is home. . . . With the exception of the Director and his party, the whole country cries out against him as a villain, a murderer, and a traitor. . . . Director Stuyvesant was, at first and also afterwards, well informed of this; who, nevertheless, retained him in office, and gave him such latitude that everything follows his behest more than if he were Director. . . . In a word, he is a proximate cause of the Director's ruin and the country's difficulty; but, it seems, the Director cannot or will not see it.[30]

Such was the man whom Stuyvesant selected for his chief official. His countless crimes at length became so clamant and aroused such universal indignation that, three years after Underhill's denunciation, the Amsterdam directors were compelled to order Stuyvesant to dismiss him.

But the justification of Underhill's indictment was not to be delayed until Van Tienhoven's dismissal in 1656. One of his counts, that, namely, which charged Stuyvesant with confiscating lands that had been legally bought from the Indians, had been anticipated by the "Remonstrance" of 1649, in which it was declared that "nobody is unmolested or secure in his property longer than the Director pleases, who is generally strongly inclined to confiscation." Again, with regard to Under-

[30] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, I, 308-9.

hill's protest against Stuyvesant's habit of imprisoning without trial, the cases of Van Dincklagen and Van Slechtenhorst, recorded even by a pro-Dutch historian,[31] are ample evidence. And numerous examples of Stuyvesant's tyrannical conduct are among the most authentic episodes of New Netherland history. The character of his government was portrayed in his own threat: "If any one, during my administration, shall appeal, I will make him a foot shorter, and send the pieces to Holland, and let him appeal that way."

Among Dutch and English alike, there could be but one issue to such arbitrary government—the inevitable development of that spirit of disaffection which Underhill had embodied in his Declaration. Hence in the November of 1653, six months after Underhill had made his protest, delegates from New Amsterdam and Long Island towns met to consider what could be done "for the welfare of the country and its inhabitants." The result of that conference was the calling of a more formal convention, to which delegates were summoned from four Dutch and four English towns in the proportion of ten representatives for the former to nine for the latter. After a day's discussion, that convention adopted and signed, *without a single dissentient,* a document which, while expressing loyalty to the States General, frankly set forth the evils of the New Netherland government and demanded redress.

There were six counts in that indictment of Stuyvesant, most of which might have been taken from Underhill's impeachment. In their first article, the petitioners complained of their fear of the establishment of an arbitrary

[31] J. R. Brodhead, *History of New York,* I, 526, 528.

government, and declared that new laws had been enacted by the Director and his Council without the knowledge or consent of the people. All that, the protestors affirmed, was "odious to every free-born man." Another article was practically identical to the thirteenth of Underhill's impeachment, for it protested that officers and magistrates had been appointed to many places without the consent or nomination of the people. And, in addition to other grievances, the impeachment of that representative convention agreed with Underhill's complaint as to lands being detained from their legal owners.

In fact, when Underhill's Declaration of the 20th of May, 1653 is compared with the indictment made by the convention of the 11th of December in the same year, it will be evident that the two documents are in complete agreement. They were searching and unanswerable impeachments of Stuyvesant's arbitrary government. And the significance of that coincidence lies in the fact that there was no dissension in the convention which issued the later document. If the facts had not fully justified the complaints of that document, the Dutch members of the convention, naturally influenced by their common nationality with Stuyvesant, could and would have outvoted the English minority. They did not. There was no necessity even for a minority report. The ten Dutch were in full and hearty accord with the nine English. The impeachment was unanimous. That fact constitutes an irrefragable vindication of Underhill's Declaration. A famous historian, John Fiske, in pointing the moral of Stuyvesant's administration, wrote: "This arbitrary theory of government has never flourished on the soil of the New World, and its career on Manhattan Island was one

of its first and most significant failures." And he might truthfully have added that one of the earliest blows directed against that theory of government was dealt by Underhill's anticipation of the Declaration of Independence.

CHAPTER XII

SOME PEACEFUL YEARS

WHEN Underhill, in the May of 1655, pleaded with the General Court of Connecticut that he might not be compelled to "vindicate his just cause" before Oliver Cromwell, he was not speaking without justification. For, indirectly, he had held a commission from the Protector himself.

After, as has been related, Massachusetts, despite conviction of the "reality" of the "execrable" plot of the Dutch, had thwarted the belligerent intentions of Connecticut and New Haven,[1] the latter colonies made an appeal to a higher power. That is, they contrived to have all the facts of the situation in New England and New Netherland laid before Cromwell. And that mission was undertaken by two such prominent men of Massachusetts as Major Robert Sedgwick and Captain John Leverett, conclusive proof that they at least were not in favour of the non-interference policy of their own General Court. That Leverett was an agent in this matter is evidence, too, that he was not personally responsible for his failure to take that "company of New England soldiers" to the aid of Underhill at Flushing.

Cromwell did not approve of the policy of Massachu-

[1] It is sufficient condemnation of the policy of Massachusetts to reflect that if the Bay colony was right in 1653 then the Southern States were right in 1861. In each case, the principle involved was that sovereignty was a reserved State right.

setts. It is probable, indeed, that he was not wholly pleased with that colony. After his conquest of Ireland, thinking it would strengthen his hold on that country to settle it with Puritans, he proposed that the Massachusetts people should remove thither as a whole; only to have his suggestion firmly declined. And now, when there was an opportunity for New England to support him in his war with Holland, it was Massachusetts that refused. Hence when Sedgwick and Leverett urged the claims of Connecticut and New Haven for assistance against the Dutch, all the factors were in their favour. Besides, Sedgwick was *persona grata* with the Protector, and Leverett had rendered good service as a captain in the Civil War.

Consequently, early in the February of 1654 Cromwell decided to send an expedition to New England for the purpose of "vindicating the English right and extirpating the Dutch." A squadron of four vessels was placed under the command of Sedgwick and Leverett, and a cryptic order issued for the provision of funds "to defray contingent expenses for the service." At the same time, Secretary Thurloe drafted the Protector's careful instructions as to how the expedition was to be conducted. On the arrival of the fleet in New England, the joint commanders were to solicit the aid of the four United Colonies, arrange for the colonial soldiers to co-operate by land or in other vessels, and then combine in an attempt to take New Amsterdam "by way of surprise, open force, or otherwise." The probable indifference of Massachusetts was not overlooked. "In case," Sedgwick and Leverett were advised, "you find such obstructions as thereby any of the governments should be induced not to

improve the public power in furthering the service, you are to desire that volunteers should not only be permitted but encouraged to engage therein." [2]

Although the plan of campaign had been completed and its financial resources authorized by the middle of February, a full month elapsed ere Sedgwick and Leverett were able to set sail. Several letters from the former to the Admiralty Committee in England would have been pleasant reading for Stuyvesant if he had had any knowledge of Cromwell's intention of "extirpating the Dutch"; for they narrated how delays had been occasioned "by want of able seamen," the lack of arms for the soldiers, the necessity of taking on board more ballast, etc., etc. Even when the squadron reached Fayal in the Azores on the 1st of May, Sedgwick's dispatch was far from cheerful. "Terrible storms" had been encountered on the voyage, with "fire balls shooting at us"; and the sum of the matter was: "The truth is, we were fitted out with a bad ship and a wicked crew, but God will recompense your labours of love to his poor saints in New England, as you sincerely intend the good of a poor people wayfaring in the wilderness." [3] If Sedgwick's letter had been read by the Boston magistrates they would surely have regarded the storms and fire-balls and bad ship and wicked crew as so many omens in support of their pious excuse that they "did not understand the Lord called upon them to make a present war with the Dutch." But Sedgwick could have countered all those interpretations by the fact that on his voyage he had captured a Dutch vessel "laden with arms." If his being

[2] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, II, 220-232.
[3] Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1654, 460, 462, 140-141.

supplied so unexpectedly with Dutch arms with which to wage war on the Dutch was not an omen, the other experiences of his voyage had no significance.

But, while Sedgwick and Leverett were being buffeted by Atlantic storms and shot at by fire-balls on their voyage to the assistance of the "poor saints of New England," what of Underhill?

A deposition among the annals of East Hampton and an entry on the records of New Haven indicate that, after his seizure of the House of Hope, thereby intensifying Stuyvesant's enmity, he passed the fall and winter in the extreme eastern parts of Long Island. The deposition was made early in the October of 1653 at East Hampton, and was given in connection with an action which had been brought against one William Howe by Lion Gardiner for sundry thefts of cattle from his island. Underhill's testimony was to the effect that while in Rhode Island in the previous July he had had some conversation with the crew of a captured sloop, who told him that Gardiner had sent him his respects. On some jocular remarks being made about "fresh mutton," Underhill's suspicions were aroused; and, enquiring of one of the crew what the allusion implied, he learnt that among those who had stolen some sheep from Gardiner's Island William Howe was the chief culprit. Whereupon Underhill "gave the said Howe a check for the same." Although the thief, for the nonce, merely "smiled and went his way silently,"[4] Underhill's testimony secured his punishment in the end.

An equal punctiliousness in regard to private property appears on the records of the General Court of New

[4] Records of the Town of East Hampton, L. I., I, 47.

Haven for the 8th of March, 1654. "The Governor," the entry reads, "informed the Court that Captain Underhill desires some advice concerning a horse which he seized at Southold, which was taken from the Dutch by Thomas Baxter; but the Court declared they would not meddle with it."[5] Underhill had good cause to be suspicious of any transaction in which Thomas Baxter was implicated. Famous in New Amsterdam history as the contractor for the erection of that palisade across Manhattan Island which was the foundation of Wall Street, Baxter, a few months later, availed himself of the agitations of the time to turn pirate and prey, as Fiske neatly expressed it, "upon Dutch and English commerce with strict impartiality and unimpeachable loyalty to pelf." His depredations, indeed, became so flagrant that at length he was arrested by the New Haven authorities and then surrendered to Stuyvesant. Well might Underhill consult New Haven as to what was to be done with Baxter's equine loot.

Early in June, however, an event of far greater moment occurred. Sedgwick and Leverett, with their four soldier-laden vessels, sailed at last into Boston harbour.

Protracted as the voyage had been, Cromwell's representatives were anxious to make up for lost time by acting upon his instructions with great promptitude. Doubtless Sedgwick and Leverett had prepared their letters to the Governors of the United Colonies ere they reached port; they were certainly dispatched within a day or two of the anchoring of the expedition. One, that addressed to Connecticut, was in Hartford by the 10th of June; but even so, news of the arrival of the armada to "extirpate the

[5] *Records of New Haven*, ed. Charles J. Hoadley, II, 52.

Dutch" reached Underhill so quickly that he and a mariner friend, Captain John Young, of Southold, had sailed for Boston ere Thomas Welles had written the reply of the Connecticut magistrates. The tenor of that reply can be imagined. Welles knew, he wrote, that his colony would "with all thankfulness embrace this favour and respect from his Highness, and with all readiness attend the counsel and advice of his commissioners." As, he added, they were inexperienced in warlike affairs, suggestions would be welcomed as to how many men were expected from Connecticut, and what kind of provisions would be most needed. And there was another question of far greater importance: were Sedgwick and Leverett adequately informed as to the strength of the force necessary to reduce the Dutch and also what were the resources of the enemy? Welles had received "various reports" as to the latter; but the man who could "best inform" Cromwell's commissioners was Captain Underhill, who had already "gone towards the Bay." To that commendation, the Connecticut magistrate added a hearty wish that, after so long and tedious a voyage, the Protector's representatives had been "preserved to be instruments for the good of church and Commonwealth."[6]

As commander-in-chief of the expedition, Sedgwick had plenary authority from Cromwell to issue commissions to New England officers, but he appears to have limited his exercise of the prerogative to Underhill. There were, of course, weighty reasons for that distinction. He and Leverett were well acquainted with Underhill's bravery and rare gifts as a leader; and his knowledge of Dutch military methods and of the fortifi-

[6] Thomas Hutchinson, Collection of Original Papers, 252-253.

cations and resources of New Netherland were invaluable assets. Hence it is not surprising that among the soldiers of New England only Underhill should have been chosen to hold a commission from the Protector.[7]

But he was not destined to exercise that commission in actual warfare. No war was fought between New England and New Netherland. Though the plans of the campaign to "extirpate the Dutch" were prepared, and the soldiers of the three colonies mustered, and the vessels ready to weigh anchor, the expedition was cancelled at the eleventh hour. For even as Sedgwick and his fleet were about to sail from Boston harbour, there arrived a vessel from England with the news that peace had been declared between the Commonwealth and Holland and orders that all hostilities between the two peoples were to cease. To no one, probably, was that news more welcome than Underhill. He was not a fighter for fighting's sake. He bore the Dutch no implacable enmity. His experiences in the Netherlands must have made him an admirer of their many admirable qualities; his wife was Dutch; and he had many friends among the people of New Netherland. If the tyranny and evils of Stuyvesant's government could be remedied without an appeal to the sword, no one would be more content.

Although peace was declared in the July of 1654, Underhill did not return to Flushing. That was Dutch territory, and he was surfeited with New Netherland government. Southold, on the contrary, which he had made his headquarters for more than a year, was an English settlement, and there he established a new home.

Among the town records of Southold, under the date

[7] Connecticut Archives: Towns and Lands, 1629-1790, I, 81 a.

of the 12th of January, 1658, is an entry in these words: "Captain John Underhill's house lot four acres more or less, the land of John Conckelyne east and Joseph Young's jnr. west." Taking that entry as his text, the editor of the records makes this comment: "During his stay in Southold, which was, from all we can learn, very brief, perhaps confined to the years 1658 and 1659, he occupied this lot. It is situated in the central part of the village, intermediate between the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches. Underhill sold his house and lot to Thomas Moore in 1659. Thomas Moore occupied this lot after Underhill left; then the Peck family, for two or three generations, had it in possession, and kept an inn there."[8]

Whatever may be the truth as to the exact position of Underhill's house lot, there is no doubt whatever that his residence at Southold was of longer duration than the two years of 1658 and 1659. It has been shown above that he was at Southold in the March of 1654 when he sought the advice of New Haven as to the disposal of Thomas Baxter's horse theft; and there is additional evidence that in the same year he regarded himself as a resident there. That evidence is preserved in the report of a legal action which occupied a court of assizes for some six days in the fall of 1665.[9] The action was raised by John Richbell against the town of Huntington for the possession of Horse Neck, which he claimed as his property because he derived his title from one Samuel Andrews, the first purchaser from the Indians, who completed his bargain in the September of 1654. That being the plea, evidence as to the original purchase was vital.

[8] *Southold Town Records*, ed. J. Wickham Case.
[9] Huntington Town Records, I, 74-79.

Such testimony Underhill was able to give. "Captain John Underhill sworn," the record states, "says that he then living at Southold, Mr. Andrews came and told him he was going to get Horse Neck confirmed by the Sachem; returning, he called on him again, and said he had done his business. Awhile after, John Gosby coming to him told him what he came about, but was come too late." Although a verdict was given for the town of Huntington, that was at once reversed on appeal; and on the 24th of October an order was issued to Underhill—he being then High Constable—to give possession of Horse Neck to the plaintiff. Underhill's evidence in that action definitely establishes the fact of his having settled at Southold by 1654.

An incident of a year later shows that he had taken his natural place as a leader in the Southold community, and that he was being relied upon to meet any danger that might threaten from Indian hostility.

As Long Island Indians had helped to expose the Dutch conspiracy, they naturally incurred the enmity of Ninigrett, especially as that chief, according to the testimony of Ronnesoke, cited in the previous chapter, had been one of Stuyvesant's principal agents. Consequently the Narragansetts seized every opportunity to attack the Indians of Long Island; and when a messenger was sent to Ninigrett with an expostulatory message, he excused those attacks on the plea that he was merely righting his own quarrel. Southold being involved in these disturbances, it became necessary to take action. Hence, on Underhill's suggestion, it was decided, in the fall of 1655, to send a deputation to New Haven to request that the Commissioners of the United Colonies "would take into considera-

tion their sad and distracted condition by Ninigrett's hostile and murderous attempts against the Indians, by which the English are in danger and the Indians unable longer to hold out."[10] The mission was entirely successful, for in addition to supplying Underhill with gunpowder and arms for Southold, his friend Captain John Young was equipped with a vessel that he might watch for and sink any hostile Indian canoes in Long Island Sound. Those preparations were so effectual that no further trouble was experienced from Ninigrett and his warriors.

With the passing of that danger—the last occasion to hold a possibility of his drawing his sword once more against Indian tribes—Underhill's life receded into a peaceful backwater for several years. Indeed, for the remainder of his sojourn in the east of Long Island the old records are exceedingly scanty, and give but two glimpses of his doings. One is evidence of his friendship with a Mathias Curwen, a Southold settler of whose will he was witness,[11] and whose estate showed him to have possessed considerable means.

More domestic, and with several points of interest, is the other vestige of his Southold life. It consists of a letter to the younger John Winthrop, and was written from Southold on the 12th of April, 1656.[12]

From his early manhood—in his twenty-second year he sent his father an elaborate prescription for an injured hand—the younger Winthrop was an industrious collector of medical recipes, and several volumes of the remedies he prescribed for innumerable New England

10 E. Hazard, *Historical Collections*, II, 341-343.
11 *Records of New Haven*, II, 400.
12 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 182-183.

invalids are preserved among the manuscripts of the Massachusetts Historical Society. That his interest in medicine was more than empirical is proved by his election among the early members of the Royal Society. Hence Underhill was justified of the earnestness and confidence of the following appeal:

Most Noble Sir [he wrote]: As God has made you an instrument of the good of many diseased, so I humbly request his goodness to move your heart to be an instrument of relief unto my wife, who daily continues in great pain, receiving last year a pain in her back with lifting a weighty stone, and daily increases her pain, and descends into her left hip, so that she cannot turn in bed, nor go upright in the day. If by the bearer, Mr. Herbert, I shall obtain your helpful direction, I shall ever rest obliged and ready to serve you to my power.

Although there is no record among Winthrop's recipes of a prescription for Helena Underhill, that he sent some "helpful direction" is beyond question. If the prescription had survived, it might have provided a clue to the invalid's ailment, which, judging by Underhill's description of the symptoms, seems to have been a form of lumbago, induced by the muscular strain of lifting that "weighty stone." Perhaps that affliction was the beginning of Helena Underhill's fatal illness, which occurred at Southold in 1658.

While Underhill could have had no premonition of the fact as he penned his letter to Winthrop, it is a singular coincidence that in some sort the shadow of his second wife passed over the page on which he expressed his affectionate anxiety for his first partner. "I was lately at Flushing," he continued; and then added: "Han-

nah Feake is to be married to a very genteel young man, of good ability, of a lovely feature, and good behaviour."

As the head of the family—the Governor of Massachusetts had been dead seven years—Winthrop, Jr., must have been greatly interested in Underhill's news. Hannah Feake was, of course, one of the daughters of Elizabeth Feake, who, besides having been the wife of his brother Henry, was the sister of his own first wife. After the tragic death of Daniel Patrick, Robert Feake, on returning to Watertown, left his affairs at Greenwich in charge of one William Hallett, whom, in 1647, Elizabeth Feake married.

Four years prior to the date of Underhill's report of the approaching marriage of Hannah Feake, her mother and step-father had made a profitable sale of their Greenwich property, and had settled in a comfortable home in the Newtown district. Writing to Winthrop in a joint letter, which they signed as his "truly loving cousins," they gave this account of their new abode. "Our habitation is by the whirlpool which the Dutchmen call the Hell Gate, where we have purchased a very good farm through the Governor's means, that had fine housing and twelve acres of ploughed land fenced in, and good meadow and other land sufficient for our use."[13] When the family removed to the Hell Gate region, where their locality is still perpetuated by the name of Hallett's Cove, the two daughters, Hannah and Elizabeth, were respectively in about their nineteenth and eighteenth years, so that before Hannah became a bride she had had some four years' training in the duties of a Long Island farmer's wife. And her sister Elizabeth served a still longer

[13] Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2nd Series, VI, 13.

apprenticeship of the same kind before she married Underhill.

Although he did not mention his name, the bridegroom with whose personal appearance and fine qualities Underhill was so deeply impressed was, of course, that John Bowne whose famous house still preserves his memory at Flushing. A native of Matlock, in Derbyshire, where he was born in 1627, Bowne was of good yeoman stock. A brief experience of Boston was sufficient to convince him that he must seek his new-world home elsewhere, and he settled at Flushing in June, 1651, about the same time that the Feake-Hallett family acquired their farm in the Hell Gate region.

Late in the year of Bowne's marriage with Hannah Feake—1656—an incident occurred which helps to explain his subsequent sturdy faith in Quakerism. For a right appreciation of that incident it is essential to remember that during the early years of the history of the Society of Friends that movement had a closer affiliation with the Baptist than any other sect. The *Journal* of George Fox provides considerable evidence that many of his earliest converts were Baptists; and it has been established by a reliable historian that "there were points of close resemblance between the General Baptists and Friends" and that the Baptists were usually willing to lend their meeting-houses for Quaker meetings.[14] In fact, it was often only a short step from a Baptist conventicle to a Friends' assembly.

Now there is dramatic evidence that in 1656 the Hallett home was a Baptist conventicle. Indeed, in the Novem-

[14] Robert Barclay, *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, 222, 295.

ber of that year William Hallett was a prisoner in Fort Amsterdam for the offence of having "had the audacity to call and allow to be called conventicles and gatherings at his house and to permit there, in contemptuous disobedience of published placats" not merely an unauthorized exposition of the Scriptures but also such a celebration of the Lord's Supper as was "in direct contradiction with the general political and ecclesiastical rules." For those crimes, Stuyvesant dismissed Hallett from his office as schout of Flushing, fined him fifty pounds Flemish, and ordered him to be detained in prison until the penalty was paid. An earnest appeal by Hallett, however, that, in view of his duty to maintain his family, he might be at liberty to tend his "little estate," soon procured his release and permission to "earn his living as a private inhabitant."[15] But the chief significance of the incident consists in its evidence of the religious predilections of the Feake-Hallett family. In an age when the opinions of children were usually those of their parents, it may be assumed—especially in view of later events—that at the time of Hannah Feake's marriage with John Bowne her religious preferences were developing in sympathy with the teaching of George Fox. And that John Bowne should have wooed her as his bride is presumptive evidence that he shared her spiritual aspirations, although they were not married by Friends' ceremony.

One other sentence in Underhill's letter of April, 1656

[15] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, XIV, 377. By 1662, Hallett was so firmly re-established as a citizen that he was chosen by Flushing as one of a small deputation to Stuyvesant; and shortly after the English occupation of New Netherlands he was appointed one of the three magistrates of the town. In 1667 he was the contractor for the erection of the Sessions House, but two years later was so greatly in arrears with the work that he was ordered to complete it by Christmas under a penalty of ten pounds.

to the younger Winthrop demands attention. "The news lately come out of Barbadoes," he wrote, "the bearer is able to inform you more exactly; so if you please to deny yourself, in a word or two, what design Captain Gookin is upon for the Indies, and what success, I shall be thankful unto you."

Winthrop was well qualified to give Underhill the information he desired, for among the letters he had recently received was one which contained the latest news as to the West Indies. It must be remembered that Cromwell's policy at this period had special regard to the development of the West Indies, with a view to possible attempts on the American continent. He wished, also, to destroy royalist influence in the islands. Now, a month or two before Underhill asked his question, Winthrop had received a letter from his friend Richard Leader, written from Boston, and in that epistle was this sentence: "Capt. Gookin is now come and hath commission to transport all people from these parts to Jamaica that have minds to go (and are not able to pay their passage) at the public charge."[16] Underhill seems to have learnt something about Captain Gookin's mission; and perhaps he may have had some knowledge of the fact that Winthrop was in negotiation with Leader for establishing a salt-extraction plant in Barbadoes.

But what was the meaning of Underhill's anxiety for further details of Gookin's "design" in the West Indies? Had he any thought of removing to Jamaica or Barbadoes or some other island of the archipelago? Was he in difficulties as to a livelihood, and hence eager to learn whether Winthrop's enterprise might furnish him with a profit-

[16] Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2nd Series, III, 194.

able occupation? As his training had been that of a soldier—"and having nothing else to live upon," as he had confessed some years earlier—he may often have been in straits to provide the maintenance of his wife and family.[17] Southold was too small a community to recompense him for military services, had such been required; and it may well have been that his question to Winthrop was prompted by monetary anxiety. Or was it that, tried by the rigors of severe winters, he longed for a more genial clime? Or, finally, did it occur to him that there might be opportunity in the West Indies to exercise that commission as an officer which he had received from Sedgwick in Cromwell's name?

Certainly Southold, especially after his wife's death, was not destined to retain him among its inhabitants. He sold his house-lot April 1, 1659, to Thomas Moore and by August of that year he had acquired a new home at Cromwell Bay, otherwise Setauket, thus removing considerably westward and nearer to his original home and friendships at Flushing.

By that date, too, he had espoused a second wife in the person of Elizabeth Feake, thereby becoming related to the Winthrop circle. As a friend of the family from their settlement at Watertown, he had known her from childhood; on his removal to Stamford, he had renewed

[17] Such an experience was not singular to Underhill. It is an illuminating coincidence that at this very period Winthrop wrote several letters to his son Fitz-John, then in England, in which the financial problems of one even so presumably well-off as the Governor of Connecticut are frankly confessed. Winthrop warned his son not to run into debt, for, he added, "I being in no way of trade I shall not be able to help you." And when Fitz-John expressed a desire to return to New England, his father wrote: "I do not at present give you positive directions for your coming back, not seeing at present any suitable way of employment, for as I wrote formerly, you know the way of this country is to depend upon what is produced by husbandry, and cattle, except such as are in some certain way of trade."—Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 5th Series, VIII, 50, 69.

her acquaintance in girlhood; and when he met her again on the eve of, or subsequent to, her sister's marriage, she was in the early years of womanhood. Elizabeth is a more shadowy figure in her husband's life than Helena Underhill; but if the Feake sisters resembled their mother in looks and personality, they must have been more than commonly attractive. Among the intimate letters of the Winthrop family are many allusions to and messages for the young widow of Henry Winthrop, and they all testify to the unusual qualities of the woman with whom they were concerned. Those qualities were doubtless inherited by the daughters, plus a deep interest in spiritual things. Of course there was considerable disparity in the ages of Underhill and his second wife; but such unions of advanced and tender years were common among the Puritans, who could, if necessary, cite the famous precedent of John Knox. Underhill's wooing was probably no arduous undertaking. Through all the ages, the young woman has been attracted by the sons of Mars. Did not Othello so win Desdemona? And perhaps Underhill might also have explained:

> She loved me for the dangers I had pass'd;
> And I loved her that she did pity them.

Such records as have survived of the distribution of lands at Setauket do not afford any definite clue to the position of Underhill's home there. In one of the old lists which purport to define the earliest divisions, the scribe perpetrated what may have been an unconsciously correct spelling by referring to "the first lootments." In another list, devoted to the six-acre lots of the land of "the old field," Underhill's name is second and twenty-

first, no other settler having two lots so apportioned. The only approach to a definition of locality is a phrase which states that "the highway runs through six-acre lots from first to last."[18]

There is undoubted significance in the fact that Underhill alone is recorded to have been granted two six-acre lots. As at Dover, and Stamford, and Southold, so at Setauket, his fellow colonists quickly recognized his distinctive qualities and relied upon him as their leader. Had Carlyle been acquainted with those incidents in the rough life of new-world communities, he might have cited them as cogent proofs of his thesis that at no time has it been possible to eradicate from living men's hearts "a certain altogether peculiar reverence for Great Men; genuine admiration, loyalty, adoration." Underhill had not been long at Setauket before he took the initiative in a matter which won the undivided support of the community. The evidence is preserved among the archives at Hartford in the form of a petition from "Cromwell Bay alias Setauket," in which the inhabitants appealed to be taken "under the protection and government of the Colony of Connecticut."[19] To that document, "subscribed with a unanimous consent" on the 6th of August, 1659, the first signature was that of John Underhill.

By the bearers of that petition, Underhill dispatched a letter to Winthrop. His purpose was twofold. For one thing, he wished to add his personal appeal for a favourable consideration of the supplication, making, in so doing, a wise suggestion as to the holding of a court at Setauket for the settlement of minor difficulties. But, in

[18] Brookhaven Town Records, 135, 136.
[19] Connecticut Archives: Towns and Lands, 1629-1790, I, 9.

addition, he solicited Winthrop's assistance in connection with another annoying revival of the legal quibbles connected with his seizure of the House of Hope. The chief interest of that personal request consists in the evidence it affords of the anxiety and material loss Underhill experienced because of his prompt action in connection with the Dutch plans to "make use of the Indians," and from the neglect which had been his reward when the danger had passed. After reminding Winthrop of the facts, he continued: "What necessity and unexpected troubles have brought me is amazing concerning this seizure. The Dutch Governor last year disposed of my just right in his jurisdiction, in value about one hundred pounds in lands. He owes me money, and deals as it pleases him; he is without control. And all this is simply come upon me by reason I declared the intended conspiracy, as the Indians reported, and was proved upon oath." It is clear from a further passage in this letter that it was at the urgent request of Governor Eaton and Captain John Leverett that Underhill hazarded his all in the interests of "the safety of New England." He had "suffered a great deal of misery unjustly" because he had been "quick in arming against the Dutch." Nevertheless he was "assuredly conscious of God's righteousness" and that "some good spirits" would be moved to consider his case.[20] Whether that optimism was justified there is no evidence to show. Winthrop, at least, could hardly fail to sympathize with Underhill in his private losses incurred in public services. He, too, had costly experience of such ingratitude. So much so, indeed, that, ten years later, his son Wait wrote: "I hope the gentlemen of Con-

[20] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 184.

necticut will not altogether forget what you are out for them. 'Twere a small matter for them to discharge, if not all, yet a good part of it."[21] If the colony could forget what its Governor was "out" in its interests, the treatment of Underhill was hardly surprising.

Although Setauket was eventually received "under the protection and government" of Connecticut, there was a time during the negotiations when union with that colony was seriously jeopardized. It would seem that a request had been made that a deputy should be sent to Hartford to discuss various details, but that the message had not been received in time for it to be acted upon. Hence an expostulatory letter was dispatched to the people of Setauket, which the bearer, for some inexplicable reason, at first refused to deliver. When those facts became known to Underhill, he at once called a town meeting and was given authority to address an explanation to Winthrop. They were anxious, he wrote, to testify their respects and readiness to attend the advice of the letter from Hartford, and to express their "just apology" although their "disturbing neighbour" would have prevented them. "The evil disposed and tearing and stirring spirits," he reflected, "can sooner raise clamours than allay them. . . : Noble Sir," he appealed, "let no discouragement seize upon you or any of the Magistrates for receiving of us. We hope both you and we may have much comfort in our union."[22] Underhill's intervention was successful; as soon as the application had been submitted to the other three colonies, Setauket was duly received into the Connecticut jurisdiction. As his policy

[21] *Ibid.*, 5th Series, VIII, 385.
[22] *Ibid.*, 4th Series, VII, 185.

as Governor of Dover had indicated, he was an early and ardent advocate of the federal principle.

When he next took occasion to write to Winthrop—in the March of 1661—it was to express his views on religious toleration. His text was a little book, one of those fascinating quarto publications of the seventeenth century which now hold such rare and costly rank among Americana. Prefacing his letter by writing, "Your blessed father's words to me, at my last parting from him in Boston, eighteen years since May next," he continued:

In a word, Noble Sir, I insert what I heard and read in a book come out of England this winter, called "New England's Bloody Ensigne,"[23] in it declared the horrible sufferings of the people called Quakers, in Boston, Plymouth and New Haven; but yourself and Colony spread through the world as moderate and pitiful in your demeanour to them. Most dear and noble Sir, as God has preserved you from shedding innocent blood, and kept your Colony from acts of cruelty to that people, so I trust you will be preserved to the end; that you may not partake in the approaching judgment. Most dear and loving Uncle, give me leave for your further encouragement from persecution, to mind you of my farewell words from your noble father, of happy memory, to me, and have taken such impression through the spirit of God in me, that I dare not meddle with that people; but leave them to their liberty granted by the good old Parliament of England.[24]

[23] Underhill was erroneously overemphatic in the title of Humphrey Norton's pamphlet, to copy which in full would occupy a page of this size. The correct version of its opening lines is: *New-England's Ensigne: It being the Account of Cruelty, the Professor's Pride, and the Articles of their Faith"*; and it set forth that it had been "Written at Sea, by us whom the Wicked calls Quakers." Although extremely rare, and seldom obtainable for less than $750.00, there are two copies in the British Museum, the more perfect of which has the press-mark of 4183, b. 35.

[24] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 186-187.

Reference has already been made to that farewell message of the Governor of Massachusetts and Underhill's interpretation of its significance.[25] But his new application of the words which had impressed him so deeply has many additional points of interest, one being his claim of relationship to Winthrop in addressing him as "loving Uncle" in virtue of his marriage with Elizabeth Feake. Winthrop acknowledged that relationship in most of his letters to Underhill, preferring, however, to subscribe himself generally as "Your loving cousin,"[26] a form which Underhill himself occasionally used.

Allusions to contemporary publications are of rare occurrence in early New England correspondence. On the testimony of the exhaustive indices of the sixty volumes of the first six series of the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections which constitute a voluminous storehouse of the correspondence of the early days, it appears that Shakespeare did not exist for the pioneers of New England; and no one seems to have been familiar with Milton, even though he was the master poet of Puritanism. Indeed, it is extremely rare to light upon any reference to the printed page. All the greater, therefore, is the interest attaching to Underhill's citation of Humphrey Norton's vigorous exposure of the persecutions of the Quakers in his *New-England's Ensigne*. Because of its associations, the book is a link with bygone years; and there is a singular pleasure in poring over its time-stained pages, for such an occupation seems to transport one back to the rude Long Island home in which Underhill perused them when they were fresh from the press.

[25] P. 404.
[26] Massachusetts Historical Society Archives: Winthrop MSS. V, 28.

His interest in the little book was manifold. He must have known the author, for Humphrey Norton visited Southold in the February of 1658, where, as he attempted to expound Christianity according to the views of George Fox, he was at once arrested and sent in irons to New Haven. That incident was, of course, familiar to Underhill, and he doubtless recalled conversations with Norton, and particularly his impressions of the founder of the Society of Friends, to whom he was so devoted that he had offered to be imprisoned in his stead.[27] Other memories of earlier years must have been revived as Underhill continued his reading, especially by those passages wherein Norton described his experiences at Hartford, where he had a theological discussion with Samuel Stone, the minister Underhill met during the Pequot campaign, and whom he assured of an answer to his prayer.[28] But it is clear from Underhill's letter to Winthrop that he was specially gratified to read Norton's testimony to the tolerant spirit of the Governor of Connecticut, whom he described as "a moderate man," and whose influence obviously coloured his further tribute to the effect that "amongst all the Colonies we found not like moderation as in this, most of the Magistrates being more noble than those of the other Colonies."

Still more significant is the evidence afforded by that letter of the March of 1661 of Underhill's growing sympathy with the tenets and spirit of Quakerism. Perhaps Whittier knew of that letter; at any rate it is noteworthy that the Quaker poet of New England faithfully interpreted Underhill's central faith when he made him say:

[27] *Journal of George Fox* (Everyman edition), 135.
[28] P. 188.

I boast not of gifts, but fain would own
The wonderful favour God hath shown,
The special mercy vouchsafed one day
On the shore of Narragansett Bay,
As I sat, with my pipe, from the camp aside,
And mused like Isaac at eventide.

A sudden sweetness of peace I found,
A garment of gladness wrapped me round;
I felt from the law of works released,
The strife of the flesh and spirit ceased,
My faith to a full assurance grew,
And all I had hoped for myself I knew.

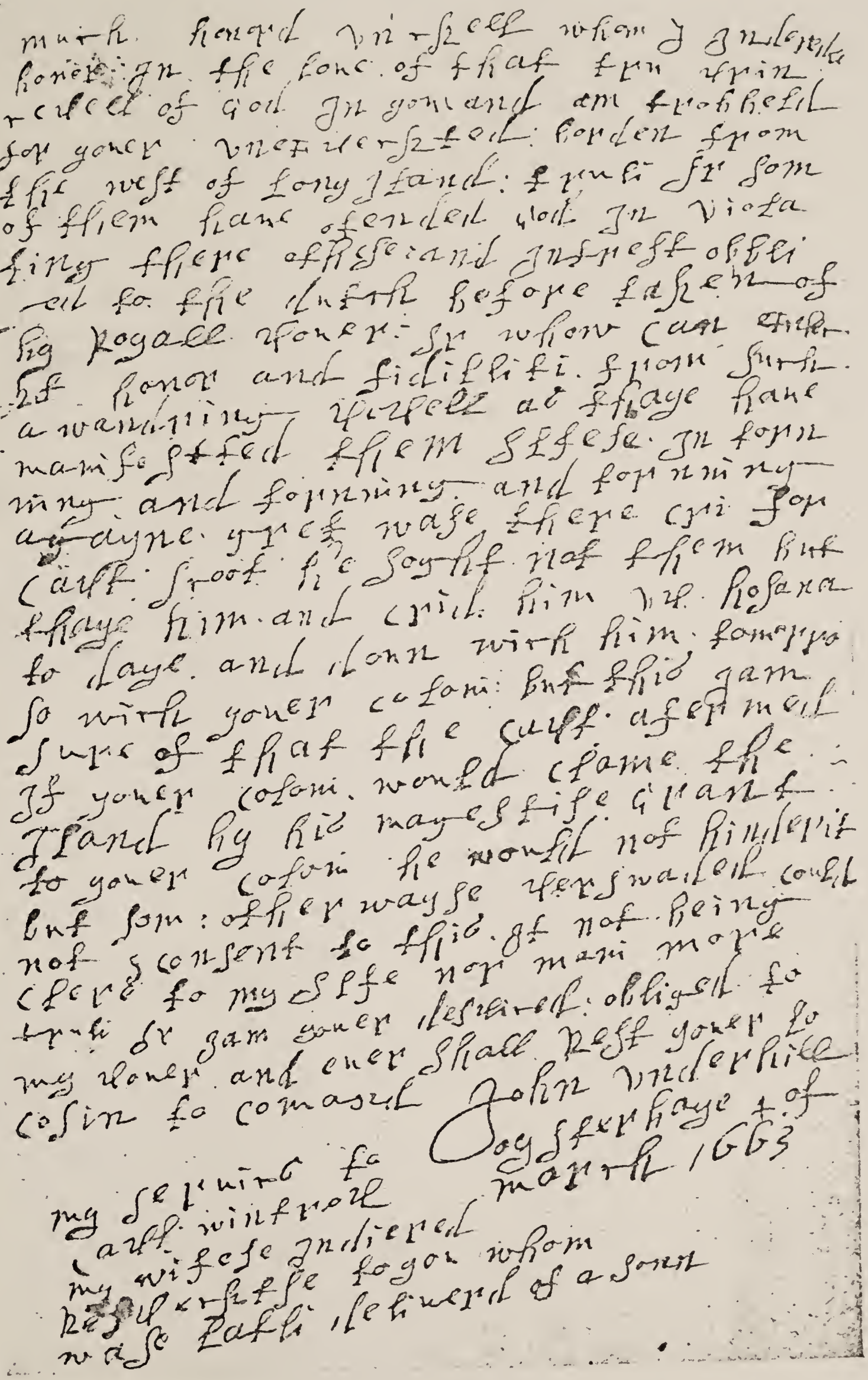
Legend avers that in his closing years Underhill became a member of the Society of Friends. All the probabilities are in favour of the truth of that tradition. For it is impossible to ponder his authentic letters without becoming convinced that, in addition to having a kindly spirit, there was a vein of mysticism in his nature. Besides being oppugnant to a religion of ritual and dogma and doctrine, he was a firm believer in the reality of the inward Light, and he, like Fox, had his visions of the splendours of the Unseen. It was little wonder, then, that he "dared not meddle with that people," and was grateful to Winthrop for the tolerance with which he treated them.

Perhaps Underhill's sympathy with the Quaker faith may have been one of the reasons why he did not stay long at Setauket. Most of the early Friends were living further west in Long Island, particularly in the vicinity of Flushing. His wife, too, would naturally be desirous of being nearer her sister and mother. And, for some reason which does not appear on the records, within a month of Setauket being received by Connecticut, some

restless spirits there began agitating for such a division of the settlement as would have nullified the union with the colony. All this was the theme of a long letter which Winthrop addressed to Underhill, the only interest of which to-day is that by it he conveyed his "loving respects" and subscribed it as "Your loving cousin."[29] That letter was written in the mid-June of 1661, and it was not many months later ere its recipient had removed to his final home in the Oyster Bay region.

According to the old records, it was a rule to apportion a ten-acre lot to each settler there, and one entry reads: "John Underhill have 10 acres between Nicholas Wright's land by the way to Hempstead and the highway: it is 80 poles long and 20 poles broad." Confirmation of the situation of his first home here is provided by that fascinating map of the western portion of Long Island which Sergeant Hubbard is credited with having drawn in 1666. This shows that his home was located on the way to Hempstead, and that his near neighbours were: John Feake, Francis Weeks, Matthew Pryer, Chris. Hawkhurst, Henry Reddock, James Cock, Lawrence Mott, Wm. Frost, Aaron Forman and Josiah Latting.[30] By the date of Underhill's arrival, the settlers of Oyster Bay had adopted regulations of a kind which should have resulted in a well-ordered town. That there was a healthy communal spirit is suggested by the rule that every newcomer was to provide a bushel of hayseed for the common within a year of his arrival, and by the agreement to give "the widow Croker" a certain measure of corn for a year; corruption of the Indians was safe-

[29] Massachusetts Historical Society Archives: Winthrop MSS. V, 28.
[30] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, XIV.



LETTER WRITTEN BY CAPTAIN JOHN UNDERHILL TO GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP IN 1663, MENTIONING THE BIRTH OF A SON WHO MUST HAVE BEEN NATHANIEL

Original in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society

guarded by heavy fines on any supplying them with intoxicating drink; depredations from wolves were insured against by every townsman being responsible for wolf-killing dues; and the orderliness of the district should have been insured by the edict which stipulated that all meadows and cornfields were to be "sufficiently fenced" to the height of four and a half feet.

Underhill's presence at Oyster Bay was probably a potent influence in a correspondence of which he can have had no knowledge. Although, by the treaty of Hartford, it had been arranged that a line from the westernmost part of Oyster Bay direct to the sea should be the boundary between the Dutch and English on Long Island, there was no agreement as to the exact position of that line, which the aggressive English were always interpreting further and further westward. The problem was the constant theme of letters exchanged between Stuyvesant and the Directors in Amsterdam; and at about the time of Underhill's settlement that correspondence had assumed an acrimonious tone. At length the Directors ordered Stuyvesant to erect a fort "without waiting for the decision of the English nor submitting to it." Stuyvesant, after reminding his employers that they were "the weaker party," said he intended to "wait another year." The Directors were furious; he was "wasting paper"; they persisted in their previous order. Then Stuyvesant changed his tone; he was not sure that a fort would be a remedy. And a year later he was courageous enough to confess that he had not even begun to build the fort.[31]

There was reason enough now for disobeying the most stringent orders from Amsterdam. Nearly a decade had

[31] *Ibid.*, XIV, 430, 440, 449, 469, 481, 503.

passed since Underhill had so dauntlessly impeached Stuyvesant and his government. His accuser had fearlessly settled nearer and nearer his jurisdiction. And he was astute enough to realize that, under the changed conditions of the Restoration in England and the favour Charles II had shown to Winthrop, it would have been folly to challenge a community which numbered Underhill among its people.

CHAPTER XIII

UNDERHILL AND AN ADVENTURER

UNMORAL persons were not lacking among the saints of the New England theocracy. There were, for example, those peccant servants of Matthew Cradock who assured their master that they drank "nothing but water," a profession of total abstinence which was hardly substantiated by the accounts which reached Cradock in London for more than three hundred gallons of "red wine, sack, and aqua-vitae" consumed by his water-drinking servitors in a year, supplemented by such other "too intolerable abuses" as were represented by a charge of ten pounds for tobacco.[1] Cradock, of course, was an absentee, and as such peculiarly liable to his dependents' dishonesty; but the Governor of Massachusetts was not immune from the effects of similar faithlessness. His steward, James Luxford, was guilty of so many thefts and such wholesale manipulations of accounts that his estate was practically ruined. Although Luxford was eventually sentenced to a heavy fine, to the pillory, and to have his ears cropped, he continued to address long pleading letters to Winthrop which were distinguished by countless Biblical allusions and nauseating passages of unctuous piety.[2]

There were also malefactors of larger ambitions.

[1] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VI, 124.
[2] *Ibid.*, 5th Series, I, 127-147.

Newly discovered countries are so notoriously the hunting-grounds of unscrupulous and clever adventurers that it is not surprising a prolific crop of the species flourished on American soil. And Underhill was destined to come into contact with two choice examples of the type. The more picturesque of these was that Sir Christopher Gardiner whom he arrested in the early days of the Bay colony; the other was that Captain John Scott whose exploits distinguish him as the most adroit and resourceful adventurer of Long Island history. Gardiner appears to have been an engaging rascal; and it may certainly be said of Scott that at least he refrained from cloaking his malpractices in a garb of piety. That negative virtue, however, seems to have been his only redeeming trait. He was an adept in the art of bluffing; as a speculator in land he was as efficient a scoundrel as any modern example; he was a consummate forger; and as a liar Ananias has rarely had a more faithful disciple.

What is notable about his Long Island intrigues is, that while for a time he deceived so shrewd a person as the younger Winthrop and also the hard-headed magistrates of Connecticut and New Haven, his real character was quickly divined by Underhill.

According to his own highly coloured narrative, John Scott was the son of a wealthy royalist who lent a large sum to Charles I and lost his life in his service. Scott also asserted that he incurred the enmity of the Parliamentary party by cutting the bridles and girths of some of their horses, and that, as a punishment, he was fined five hundred pounds and transported to New England. All these picturesque details, it must be remembered, were embodied in a petition addressed to, but undoubtedly

never seen by, Charles II, in the June of 1663. Scott, by bribery and other inducements, had enlisted the support of several of the venial court officials of the Restoration, and by their influence a favourable consideration was supposed to have been given by the King to his appeal to be constituted Governor of Long Island, of which he claimed to have "purchased near one third part." [3] These preliminaries of Scott's intrigues developed so favourably that the Council for Foreign Plantations authorized a committee to investigate and report upon the evidence that the Dutch had "intruded" themselves on Long Island.

Before leaving London, Scott contrived to equip himself with a document calculated to impress the colonists of New England. It purported to be a warrant issued under the Great Seal of England. Of the actual wording of that document no record has survived; but three descriptions still exist. One was written by Underhill in a letter to Winthrop, and he referred to it as "the counterfeit portraiture of the King impressed in yellow wax, annexed to his false perpetuities of 20 square miles"; [4] another described it as "a certain deed called by the said Scott a perpetuitie with the King's picture in it and a great yellow seal affixed to it"; [5] the third is embodied in the following indictment: "This same Scott, by a pretended seal affixed to a writing in which was the King's picture drawn with a pen or blacklead, with his Majesty's hand Charles R and subscribed Henry Bennet, hath horribly abused his Majesty's honour in these parts." That the document was signed by Sir Henry Bennet, who was

[3] Thomas Hutchinson, *Collection of Original Papers*, 380-381.
[4] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 190.
[5] Brookhaven Town Records, 154.

so soon to be created Earl of Arlington, is sufficient to make it suspect, for that statesman was notoriously unscrupulous and may well have been in league with Scott.

That "false perpetuitie," as Underhill happily characterized it, was of considerable service to Scott before he left London. A petition of a widow, Dorothea Gotherson, shows that he, by virtue of his specious document, persuaded her late husband to entrust him with two thousand pounds "for lands and houses in Long Island";[6] and a letter which was addressed to Winthrop by one Giles Sylvester provides evidence that at the same time Scott induced Major Gotherson to become surety for a debt due to Sylvester for money and a "parcel of cloth."[7] For a season, the "false perpetuitie" was a veritable Aladdin's lamp.

All the omens were also auspicious for several months after his arrival on American soil. Hypnotized by his clever tongue and by the formidable parchment with the King's picture and great yellow seal, which, obviously, they cannot have examined with any care, or which, probably, was only hastily exposed for their inspection, Winthrop and the magistrates of Connecticut and New Haven gave Scott a hearty welcome. In so far as his apparent commission indicated the readiness of Charles II to support the colonies in their designs against New Netherland, their reception was natural. So while New Haven equipped him with a small armed force, Connecticut conferred on him the dignity of a commissioner to Setauket with power to act as a magistrate in Long Island.

Encouraged by such flattering attentions, and with

[6] Colonial Papers, 1661-1668, 607.
[7] Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 2nd Series, IV, 279.

visions of the speedy realization of his ambition to be installed as Governor of Long Island, Scott dispatched a crafty letter to one of his confederates in London. That letter, written from Hartford on the 14th of December, 1663, expatiated on the sad state of the English in the west of Long Island, who were "enslaved by the Dutch, their cruel and rapacious enemies," and pleaded that no notice should be taken of any pro-Dutch representations which might be made in London.[8] Having thus protected himself from any complaints that might be made in England, Scott proceeded to Long Island to open his campaign there.

His initial operations were rendered easy by the erratic conduct of some disaffected settlers in several of the western towns of the Island. On the plea that they had not received protection adequate to the promises of Connecticut, they addressed a petition to Scott, complaining of the "if so be's and doubtings" of the colony, and subscribing themselves "Yours ever to be commanded, in behalf of many distressed."[9] Such an appeal marshalled Scott on the path of his choice. And, having his armed band from New Haven, and confident that he could count upon the voluntary Adullamites of the petition, he proceeded to address a high-sounding expostulation to Peter Stuyvesant. Even the Dutch Director was deceived by the clever adventurer. For the issue of the correspondence and the conference which followed was that he signed a treaty of a year's truce with the "President of the English towns."[10] Of that treaty, Underhill was the principal English witness, but as one holding a watching

[8] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, III, 47, 48.
[9] Connecticut Archives: Towns and Lands, I, 21.
[10] Records of the Department of State, Albany, XVIII, 242.

brief for Winthrop and Connecticut, and not as a supporter of Scott, on whose proceedings he expressed no opinion. He was biding his time, anxious not to interfere too soon.

An opportunity for useful intervention was not long delayed. Inflated by his easy triumph over the Director of New Netherland, puffed up by the apparent devotion of the disaffected settlers, made vainglorious by the escort of his little armed band from New Haven, with which he marched hither and thither "with colours flying, drums beating and trumpets sounding," Scott imagined the hour was ripe for the assumption of that governorship of Long Island which was the master motive of all his schemes. Hence his declaration to the effect that Charles II had granted the island to his brother, the Duke of York, whose representative he was.

Even the disaffected were perturbed by such a revelation. They were astute enough to realize that while the Duke of York was a distant entity, whose assistance was a doubtful quantity, the colony of Connecticut was near at hand, with ability to enforce its wishes. So Scott's disclosure of his real objective created serious divisions in the western towns.

It was at that juncture Underhill intervened, with a letter to the Governor of Connecticut, whom he addressed as his "much honoured Uncle." Assuring Winthrop that he "endearedly honoured" him for love of "that true principle of God" in him, he wrote how "troubled" he was for his "unexpected burden from the west of Long Island." In his opinion, the people who had encouraged Scott had "offended God in violating their oaths," for as they had not been taken under the

royal power of England they were still bound by their fealty to the Dutch. But their conduct did not surprise him. "Who," he asked, "can expect honour and fidelity from such a wandering people as they have manifested themselves, in turning and turning, and turning again?" In relation to Scott and Connecticut, their fickleness had been the same: "Hosanna to-day! Down with them to-morrow!" It might be true, as had been reported, that Scott had safeguarded himself by pretending that he would not object if Connecticut claimed the whole of Long Island; but such a policy, Underhill added, was "not clear" to himself.[11] Under the circumstances, it was necessary to write guardedly; but Winthrop was able to read between the lines.

Underhill's letter was penned on the 4th of March, 1664; six days later the Hartford court took prompt and decisive action. Stringent orders were issued to all officers to procure the immediate arrest of John Scott, a "malefactor" who stood charged in the Court of Connecticut "for sundry heinous crimes and seditious practices," which included "encouraging the natives in hostile practices against one another," "usurping the authority of the King," "forgery and violation of his solemn oath," "acting treacherously to the Colony of Connecticut," and "usurping authority on pretence of a commission."[12]

News of that wholesale indictment quickly reached Scott, who promptly disappeared, and was able to elude arrest for nearly two months. While he was in hiding, however, his wife, who was either an accomplice or was strangely ignorant of his machinations, made a piteous

[11] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 187-188.
[12] Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, I.

appeal to Winthrop in his behalf. She was in a "sad and disconsolate state," was "not well and with child," and her sorrows were aggravated by the news of the "injurious carriages" of some of his colony against her "dear husband." "I hope," she concluded, "God will find out some other way both for his and my safety and deliverance."[13]

Deborah Scott's hope was not realized. She wrote her appeal from New Haven on the 5th of April; about a month later her husband was a prisoner in Hartford. His trial quickly followed; and on the 24th of May he was found guilty on all the counts of his indictment. He was degraded from his commissionership, and disfranchised; but, in addition, he was fined two hundred and fifty pounds, remanded to prison during the pleasure of the Court, and ordered to find security in a sum of five hundred pounds for his future good conduct. Nor was that all. The decision of the Court included another edict: the whole of his estate was sequestered, and the officers of the several towns where he had conducted his land speculations were commanded to take "an exact invoice of all the said Scott's estate" and secure it from embezzlement.[14]

Those precautions were soon justified by many proofs of the varied sharp dealings in which Scott had indulged. A Captain John Platt was one of those who came forward with a claim for a large sum of money; and it was disclosed that the family of Matthew Pryer, Underhill's friend and neighbour, was in such "great distress" from Scott's malpractices that an order was at once issued for

[13] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 5th Series, I, 100-101.
[14] Public Records of Connecticut, I, 430.

the sale of so much of his sequestered goods as would suffice to purchase three cows for the relief of this victim. His "deals" in land at Setauket alone were of so complicated a nature that a special town meeting had to be called to appoint arbitrators, of whom Underhill was the first to be chosen. To them fell the exacting task to "make an end of all differences about rights of lands, meadows, woods or anything relating to lands."[15] And when, some time later, one "Hallelujah Fisher" wished to have it established that he had agreed to his indenture with Scott being assigned to another master, it was to Underhill he appealed to witness the deed.[16]

If Underhill and Winthrop and the magistrates of Connecticut had had any qualms as to their proceedings against Scott, they must have been quieted by those letters from Giles Sylvester to which reference has already been made. News that Scott was "in limbo for treason and other heinous crimes" had reached Sylvester in Barbadoes, and he promptly wrote to inform Winthrop of the many felonies he had experienced from the same adventurer. Sylvester was a Quaker, but there was nothing of the traditional gentleness of the sect in his language with reference to Scott. After heated references to his "unheard-of perfidies" and "lying and wicked courses," he burst forth into apostrophe. "O wretched wretch, not worthy to be seen among civil men! His wickedness reacheth up to heaven. One whom I have fed with bread, and who, by my clemency to him, owes me to this day upon bond one hundred and four pounds. Had I not another bound with him for it, I would not deem it worth

[15] Brookhaven Town Records, 74, 75, 98.
[16] Oyster Bay Town Records, I, 17.

ten farthings. If the gallows hath him not, he will rot whilst he liveth."[17]

But the irate Quaker was to be disappointed. Scott eluded the gallows. Indeed, incredible as it may seem in view of the foregoing, he was actually to enjoy some return of fortune even on American soil.

At the time when the Hartford Court issued its indictment of Scott as a "malefactor," events were transpiring in England which were to bring him temporary respite. On the suggestion of his more practical brother, the Duke of York, who had a keen appreciation of the value of commerce as a source of national strength, Charles II, in view of the maritime rivalry of the Dutch, decided to seize New Netherland, and, in pursuance of that policy, gave the Duke a patent for American territory which included not only the whole of Stuyvesant's jurisdiction but also Long Island. As soon as that patent had passed the Great Seal, the Duke of York, as Lord High Admiral, at once began preparations for the necessary expedition, appointing four frigates to the task, and giving the supreme command to Colonel Richard Nicolls. The secret instructions of the latter included the clause: "You may inform all men that a great end of your design is the possession of Long Island, and reducing that people to an entire submission and obedience to us and our government."[18] Nicolls' fleet sailed on the 15th of May, 1664, but it was not until near the end of July that the vessels reached New England.

Underhill, as on the occasion of Sedgwick's expedition ten years previously, had the earliest news of the immi-

[17] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd Series, IV, 280.
[18] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, III, 57.

nence of Nicolls' arrival. For on the 18th of June he dispatched this hurried note to Winthrop from Oyster Bay: "The reason of my present pursuit is a letter from my wife; the late news from Boston to the Island: the frigates arrived or at hand; their work inserted in my letter, to settle government, and to reduce the Dutch. Aboard the frigates 500 soldiers and 1000 arms. The God of love, peace, and mercy rest with you and yours, to his glory and your peace and comfort."[19]

On the arrival of the fleet, urgent messages were dispatched to enlist the aid of the colonists in the forthcoming attempt on New Netherland. One letter to a friend of Underhill urged him to "make all convenient haste" to Long Island and summon the services of all such as were well "affected to his Majesty's service."[20] And a special courier was sent to Winthrop with precise instructions as to where he and his contingent were to join with the English force.

Such news naturally created intense excitement in Hartford, which was to Scott's advantage. Whether he escaped from prison, or whether he was released as a possibly useful officer, is uncertain; but it seems clear he was among those of Long Island who were marshalled to render Nicolls any assistance he might require. As soon, however, as the bloodless surrender of New Amsterdam had taken place, it would appear that he was in danger of arrest again by the Connecticut authorities; and he so impressed Nicolls by his plausible explanations that the English Governor granted him a passport until he was able to "appoint a time to hear his cause."[21]

[19] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 189.
[20] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, III, 66.
[21] *Ibid.*, XIV, 557.

But clemency was wasted upon Giles Sylvester's "wretched wretch." No prison, nor punishment short of that gallows to which his Quaker creditor assigned him, was likely to prevent him from returning to wallow in the mire. As Nicolls was naturally absorbed in his task of evolving a settled government for the territory and town to which he had given the name of New York, he was not able speedily to "appoint a time" to consider Scott's case. That delay encouraged the adventurer to resume his evil enterprises, and in the February of 1665 John Allyn, the Connecticut secretary, reported to Nicolls: "We are informed that Mr. John Scott, according to his wonted courses, is again making disturbance amongst the people of Setauket, by labouring to deprive the people of that place of the land expedient for their subsistence." Clearly, Scott was once more making parade of his magical "false perpetuitie." That document, indeed, was misleading so many guileless persons, for he "showed it to divers persons, and deceived many therewith," that an order was made that he should deliver it to the authorities. Nicolls, too, was not long in discovering that he had been hoodwinked. "Scott," he wrote, "was born to work mischief so far as he is credited or his parts serve him."

Thus Underhill was re-justified of his divination of the man's character. In those final days he had a sharp passage of arms with the adventurer himself, whom he severely rebuked for trying to create strife between the Long Island people and the English Governor. Then Underhill wrote to report to Winthrop. If Scott, he said, did not deliver his "false perpetuitie" he was to "endure the sentence of the Court of Assizes." He knew

he would not do that. "He is packing away," Underhill continued, "and has sold what he has left at Brookhaven, the people being reinstated, by an act of the Assembly, in their ancient possessions, as they were before he claimed interest in the said place. Thus out of my ancient relation and love to you all, I thought fit to certify you how matters have happened."[22]

If an attempt was made to act upon Underhill's warning, the effort came too late. Scott contrived to "privately withdraw himself" from Long Island and to escape to Barbadoes. The sequel to his adventures on American soil is soon told. A sentence of the Court of Assizes in New York decided that as John Scott had left his wife and children, and had "taken no care nor made any provision for them," certain trustees were to be appointed to recover and sell any lands or goods available for the support of "the said Deborah and her children." It would appear, happily, that Deborah did eventually derive some maintenance from that "dear husband's" speculations, for a year or so later Joseph Raynor, of Southampton, reported that he had received some thirty-odd pounds for the sale of Scott's property, part of which bore the appropriate name of Mount Misery.[23] But it is doubtful whether widow Dorothea Gotherson, of London, ever effected any salvage from the two thousand pounds which Scott had filched from her husband for "lands and houses in Long Island," even though she pleaded that her son, "not full 17 years of age," had been "exposed to work for his bread the last three or four years."

With the exception of Underhill, Scott appears to have

[22] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 190.
[23] Brookhaven Town Records, 152, 153-154.

fooled "all of the people some of the time." In addition to countless private settlers, he had the distinction of deceiving John Winthrop, Peter Stuyvesant, and Richard Nicolls; but his doings were never "clear" to the soldier-saviour of New Netherland. As he divined the sinister character of a religious adventurer in the person of the Rev. George Burdett, so he was under no illusions as to the secular type represented by John Scott.

CHAPTER XIV

SUNSET WITH HONOUR

WHEREVER he abode, Underhill's fellow colonists were prompt to recognize his fine qualities of leadership and enlist his aid in the public service of the community. As has been recorded in earlier chapters, at Boston he was a selectman and a deputy to the General Court; the Piscataqua pioneers made him their Governor; soon after his arrival at Stamford he was chosen to represent the town at New Haven; Setauket selected him as leader in negotiating for admission to the Connecticut colony; and when, under the new régime of English government, it became necessary for Oyster Bay to appoint delegates to an important council, he was the first choice of the townsfolk.

For several months subsequent to the surrender of Manhattan Island, the English Governor, Colonel Richard Nicolls, was fully occupied with the urgent duties involved in the transfer of the territory from Dutch to English control; but as soon as opportunity offered he devoted his attention to such general principles of government and administration as could be applied to all the districts included within the boundaries of the former jurisdiction of New Netherland. Among those districts Long Island was specially favoured. There were several reasons for that preference. The secret instructions given to Nicolls made particular reference to Long Island; that

territory, too, had pride of place in the King's grant to his brother; as a tribute to the Duke's English territorial title, Nicolls named it Yorkshire; and the new Governor seems to have been greatly impressed by the natural beauties of the Island.

When, however, Nicolls meditated upon his plans for devising an efficient government for Long Island, he discovered that the problem was complicated by various untoward conditions. The old laws, he found, were in a chaotic state; boundaries were in confusion; title-deeds to lands, partly owing to Scott's nefarious speculations, were in bewildering disorder; and "private dissensions too much prevailed." But those obstacles did not daunt Nicolls. With such attractive qualities as refinement, courtesy, frankness and geniality, he combined gifts of statesmanship which explain why his four years of governorship "were long remembered as a kind of golden age in the history of the colony."[1] Hence he was able, as one of his colleagues truthfully testified, to harmonize discordant elements into a "peaceful posture."

With an unwitting anticipation of that democratic policy which was to become so notable a quality of government on American soil, Nicolls decided that the most useful approach to a solution of Long Island problems would be by way of a representative assembly of delegates

[1] John Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies,* II, 3. Among contemporary eulogies of Nicolls that by Winthrop is notable for its tribute to his character as well as his ability. On learning that the Governor had decided to return to England, he wrote how "the sorrowful aspect of the removal of so noble a friend doth greatly seize upon my heart"; and then added: "indeed the people not only of that colony, both English and Dutch, but of the neighbouring places also, are really sorrowful at the report of his departure from that place, being sensible of their loss thereby, as they were of the good effects they saw from his wisdom and great abilities which have appeared in all his administrations." Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XIV, 232.

SIGNATURE AND SEAL OF CAPTAIN JOHN UNDERHILL

From a letter written by him to Governor Winthrop, March 22, 1664

freely elected by the colonists themselves. So in the February of 1665 he addressed a letter to all the inhabitants of the Island in which he frankly stated the difficulties of the situation, and announced his intention to hold a general meeting at Hempstead for a full discussion of all problems. He requested, therefore, that all the towns, after giving four days' notice, would proceed to the election of deputies to the Hempstead conference, stipulating that those delegates were to be "sober, able and discreet persons," and that they were to be chosen by a majority of the freemen.

In accordance with those suggestions, Oyster Bay elected Underhill, giving him Mathias Harvey as his colleague. Only a fragmentary report of the proceedings at Hempstead has survived, but it is significant of Underhill's prominence in the discussions that when a dispute arose between Flushing and Hempstead, and a special committee was appointed to debate the matter, he was at once added to that committee.[2] Those incidents are eloquent additional proofs of the esteem in which he was held by his fellow colonists.

But that appreciation was not limited to the rank and file of the early settlers. Governors too, Dutch and English alike, were equally prompt in recognizing his qualities of leadership in civil as well as military affairs. Evidence of that fact has already been adduced in the cases of John Winthrop, William Kieft, and Peter Stuyvesant; and the testimony was to be completed in the last decade of his life by the action of Richard Nicolls.

While it is probable that Underhill accompanied Winthrop and others when they attended Nicolls at the

[2] Department of State, Albany: Deeds II, 1.

surrender of Manhattan Island, it may have been that he did not meet the English Governor until he presided at the Hempstead assembly. That gathering certainly afforded Nicolls ample opportunity to realize not merely Underhill's ascendancy among the colonists but also to form his own opinion of the man of whose services in the past he must have been informed. And he quickly decided to utilize his gifts for the better government of Long Island. Hence, a few weeks subsequent to the Hempstead council, he ordered and set his seal to a document which read:

Whereas I am informed that there hath been formerly great abuses at Oyster Bay, Huntington, and other places on Long Island in landing of tobacco, and giving in security for the paying of his Majesty's duties, and that the said goods have been brought to the Manhattans, contrary to the several Acts of Parliament, for the discovering of those abuses I do appoint you, John Underhill, to take inspection into, and give account thereof, with the names of the masters and their security, as also of their vessels; and I do further appoint you to be Surveyor of Long Island, and that you take special care (as occasion doth present) to go on board all vessels that shall come to this place, and them to search. And in case you shall find any goods on board, that have not a warrant from the Customs House of New York, as beavers, and other peltry, that pays duty here, you are to seize the same, and to make stay of the ship until you shall hear further from me; and what deputy or deputies shall be appointed by you for the better managing of this business, are hereby impowered to act accordingly.[3]

Surely that was a generous commission. Its terms imply an unreserved confidence in the trustworthiness and

[3] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, XIV, 566-567.

ability of the man to whom it was issued. And it committed to Underhill a charge which would have been sufficient responsibility for one in the prime of manhood instead of one who had entered upon the last decade of the Psalmist's threescore years and ten. For it was no light task to grapple with the smuggling of the whole of Long Island. Its extensive coastline and countless bays and creeks on the Sound and the open Atlantic were ideal conditions for smugglers. And tobacco and peltries were profitable articles of barter and potent temptations to the lawless. Indeed, Underhill's responsibility as Surveyor of Customs would have been an impossible burden had not Nicolls given him unreserved power to appoint such assistants as he deemed necessary.

That he faithfully and competently discharged all the onerous duties of his office is a legitimate inference from the fact that a year later Nicolls appointed him to yet another position of distinction and trust. The record of that further honour still survives among the archives at Albany.

> These [it states] are to appoint you, John Underhill, of Oyster Bay, to be High Constable and Under Sheriff of the North Riding of Yorkshire upon Long Island, with full power and authority to execute all such Laws as are made or shall hereafter be made for the good government of those parts of his Royal Highness the Duke of York's territory, hereby willing and requiring you strictly to discharge your duty as an Under Sheriff and High Constable ought to do. And all other persons within the said Riding are hereby charged and required to take notice hereof, in the performance of your office as Under Sheriff and High Constable, appointed by the authority of his Royal Highness the Duke of York.

Engrossed on the same page of the archives is the record of an additional document conferring upon Underhill full authority to "take the oaths of the Constables and Overseers of the town of Oyster Bay." [4]

Thus Underhill was a civil pluralist. If any defence of such generous office-holding had been necessary, he might have relied upon the apology of William Harrison, that sturdy religious pluralist of Elizabethan days who argued "it is permitted that a sufficient man may (by dispensation from the prince) hold two livings." For his three offices both reasons could have been adduced: Nicolls knew he was "a sufficient man," and the Governor had full authority to exercise the dispensation of the prince. While Underhill's territory as Surveyor of Customs extended to the whole of Long Island, his jurisdiction as High Constable and Under Sheriff was sufficiently extensive, embracing as it did that area which Nicolls, following the division of the English county of Yorkshire, allotted to the North Riding. His duties, too, were comprehensive and important. In the England of the seventeenth century the High Constable and Under Sheriff was a potent official, and it is obvious from the sweeping terms of his commission—"full power and authority to execute laws"—that Nicolls intended Underhill to be regarded as the American equal of that official.

Hence his threefold office was no sinecure. In addition, too, to the many and varied duties which claimed his attention as the representative of the English Governor, there were frequent occasions when his services were requisitioned by the authorities of Connecticut. Thus, in the April of 1665, he received "a friendly re-

[4] Department of State, Albany: Deeds II, 16.

quest from the honoured power of Connecticut colony to make inquisition after innocent blood." Although explicit details are lacking from Underhill's report, it is clear the "friendly request" was concerned with an accusation that a subject of Connecticut had murdered a young child on Long Island and had disposed of the body in the vicinity of Oyster Bay. The Connecticut authorities sent the suspected man in charge of an officer, and in accordance with the request of the latter Underhill and one of his assistants made a "long and thorough search" of the place where the body was supposed to have been hidden. But their quest was unsuccessful.[5] The record is silent as to the ultimate issue of the enquiry; but even in its fragmentary condition it is an example of the multifarious duties which demanded Underhill's constant attention.

Far more exacting, however, and calling for the exercise of considerable tact, were the negotiations with Nicolls which he had to conduct on behalf of the settlers in his jurisdiction. There is ample evidence that many of the English colonists in the western towns of Long Island were difficult to satisfy. They were frequently at odds with Peter Stuyvesant; and they were not more tractable under the government of Richard Nicolls. Many of them were clearly individualists of a pronounced type, and their objection to taxes of any kind was developed to an extreme degree.

During the discussions at the Hempstead assembly, Nicolls laid down the principle that the public charges should be defrayed by a public rate, and he suggested that if those charges could not be met by an annual rate of

[5] Connecticut Archives: Crimes and Misdemeanors, 1663-1788, I, 13.

two hundred pounds it might be necessary to levy an additional tax. No objection was made to that equitable arrangement, and the Governor naturally concluded that all were in agreement. He was destined to be undeceived. As had been anticipated, the two hundred pounds were not sufficient to balance the accounts. Hence it became necessary for Underhill to issue his warrants for the extra tax. Protests were at once made; and as the chief authority of the community he duly reported those protests to Nicolls. This was a particularly unpleasant task, for naturally the remuneration attached to his offices was part of the charges which the public exchequer was unable to defray. Nicolls promptly replied. He reminded the complainants that the deficiency of revenue had been foreseen, and provided for; that he himself was serving the country "without any other expectation of benefit from them than a good name"; but he was not willing that the public charges should run into arrears, or that the men who bestowed their time and pains for the community should be obliged to "stay two years for their payment." He therefore decided that the current deficiency should be met by a moderate rate of the value of one penny in the pound.[6]

As even that arrangement did not allay the discontent or much facilitate Underhill's task, it became necessary to make another appeal to the Governor. The appeal has not survived; but its purport can be inferred from Nicolls' reply. He hoped, he wrote, that the greater part of the rate had now been collected; and with regard to the advice Underhill requested concerning the "quality of the pay," he authorized him, when grain could not

[6] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, XIV, 574.

be tendered, to accept "any other country pay, as beef, pork, horses, or any other thing equivalent to the rate, tobacco excepted." As Underhill had evidently pleaded for the poorer settlers, the Governor advised him that such might join together in groups of three or more and "contrive a way to pay between them." [7]

Those concessions as to payments in kind and communal discharge of indebtedness still left some of the Oyster Bay people discontented. There were some, moreover, whose means were so limited that even Nicolls' easy terms did not solve their difficulties; and in their behalf Underhill made a special journey to New York to lay their case before the Governor. Nicolls at once gave sympathetic consideration to the appeal, and suggested a solution. If, he said, Underhill and other public officials were content to receive as their salaries such articles of "country pay" as the settlers were able to afford, then the purpose of the taxes would be "fully answered." The sole object of the levy was to discharge the cost of public services.

But there was no placating some of the malcontents of Oyster Bay. Soon after Underhill's return he was called upon to make still another protest on their behalf. What their grievance was, or whether they knew themselves, does not appear in the old records; but, judging from the Governor's letter to Underhill, their charges against the new regime included an imputation that Nicolls had "enslaved them under arbitrary power." He naturally resented such an insensate charge, for, as he again reminded Underhill, the manner of levying the rates had been unanimously agreed to by the representative as-

[7] *Ibid.*, 576-577.

sembly at Hempstead; and he once more protested, "with a clear conscience," that so far as he was concerned not only had he derived no benefit from the country but his recompense had been "a great deal of trouble, which is increased to see men so factious as to hazard both life and estate in mutiny and rebellion, rather than bear the burden of the public charge." Nicolls, however, was of so generous a spirit that he did not believe there were many who were so distempered; and he asked that he might be acquainted with "the names of two or three (if there be so many)" who had so "opened their venomous hearts." To Underhill himself he subscribed himself as "Your loving friend, Richd. Nicolls." [8]

While it is unfortunate that Underhill's share in the correspondence summarized above has been lost, the letters of Nicolls are sufficient to indicate how exacting were the duties and how thankless the labours of the High Constable and Under Sheriff. Despite all his efforts, there were still "venomous hearts" favouring mutiny and rebellion. It was not Underhill's first experience of the ungrateful task of public service: at Dover and again at Hartford he had known what it was to have his exertions misrepresented or undervalued; but now that his years were lengthening he was less able to withstand

> the spurns
> That patient merit of the unworthy takes.

No attentive reader of the correspondence, then, can be surprised that in a few years Underhill was anxious to resign his offices. On the first occasion Nicolls persuaded him to reconsider his decision; but a little later he made so urgent an appeal that the Governor could not refuse

[8] *Ibid.*, XIV, 580-581.

his request. "In answer to your letter," Nicolls wrote, "wherein you desire to be discharged of your military employment, by reason of your years and other cares that attend you, I do allow of your excuse, and leave you to your liberty." [9]

Among those "other cares" was a revival of legal contentions in connection with his seizure of the House of Hope in 1653. Some account of the annoyances he had experienced from that cause has been given in an earlier chapter; [10] but as the later phases of the controversy were notable for Nicolls' support of Underhill's claims they now demand some attention. It will be recalled that the villain of the piece was one Ralph Earle, who persisted in asserting that he had bought the Dutch property at Hartford, and who contested that right of possession which Underhill had deeded to William Gibbons and Richard Lord. The later development of the dispute was consequently concerned with an action brought by Earle against Gibbons and Lord, though Underhill was naturally involved because the latter derived their titles from his deed of sale to them. Of course no action of any kind would have been possible had it not been for the ingrate decision of the Hartford Court in refusing to grant Underhill his due right "peaceably to proceed to the sale" of the property.

When the litigious Earle resumed his attempts to nullify the title of Gibbons and Lord, Underhill took the wise course of submitting to Nicolls the history of the dispute and all his documentary evidence. As the English Governor, unlike Winthrop, was not implicated in any way in the Hartford decision, and was able to con-

[9] *Ibid.*, 595.

[10] P. 372.

sider all the circumstances from an impartial angle, he was an ideal arbitrator. His award was to the effect that with regard to the reserved "State's part" in the House of Hope property, one half of the principal and rent belonged to Connecticut, and the other half to Underhill; and he assumed the responsibility—"out his clemency," as Underhill expressed it—of seeing that Underhill's claim was satisfied.

Fortified by that decision, Underhill appealed to Winthrop and the Connecticut magistrates for a final settlement of his "ancient controversy." Having cited the opinion of Nicolls, he made a suggestion which seems to have been as generous as it was reasonable. It appears that large sums were due to Connecticut from Long Island, and Underhill proposed that if Winthrop and the magistrates were prepared to make him a grant from those sums he would accept it in full discharge of his claims and surrender all his documents to the colony. He had, he added, refused a hundred and fifty pounds for his titles, and had also, "by falsity," been "dissuaded from going to England" with his seizure. Moreover, while he had not "benefitted one penny" from the transactions, the various claims and counter-claims had involved him in serious deprivation through being obliged to make "three journies, one five weeks, three weeks, and the last a month, to the loss of my crop by there lingering." [11]

Winthrop was in a difficult, even delicate, position. *Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates.* He had been a friend of Underhill for more than a generation, and a cousin for several years; but he was equally a friend of those Hart-

[11] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 191-193.

ford magistrates whose decision was in dispute, and he would naturally be reluctant to take any action which would reflect on their conduct. So he adopted the typically English device of resorting to compromise. "The consideration of that which you write," he said in his reply of July 17, 1665, to Underhill, "must be deferred to a more seasonable time, for I am shortly to go to New London, and possibly thence to Boston." So far as he understood the case, he was undecided what to answer; but, he added, "I should think it were best to write or propound your grievance, or demand upon it fairly to those concerned before you do think of any other way." And he concluded his letter, in which he expressed remembrances of his "special respects" and which he subscribed "Your loving cousin," by holding out the hope of a personal discussion: "I am not without thoughts I may possibly see you at Oyster Bay before the end of this summer, if I stay not too long at Boston necessarily before I can return, then may have opportunity to discourse fully with you." [12]

Whether that visit was paid does not appear; and there is no record of the immediate course of the dispute; but a document of three years later, by which the defendants were summoned to appear in an action by Earle to answer to the charge of "unjustly detaining from him certain lands in Hartford bounds formerly belonging to the Dutch and seized by Captain John Underhill," [13] is evidence that Earle's "guile" was still active. But the subsequent record already cited is satisfactory proof that even so late as 1679 the sale to Gibbons and Lord was legally

[12] Massachusetts Historical Society MSS.: Winthrop Papers, V, 183.
[13] Connecticut Archives: Towns and Lands, I, 86.

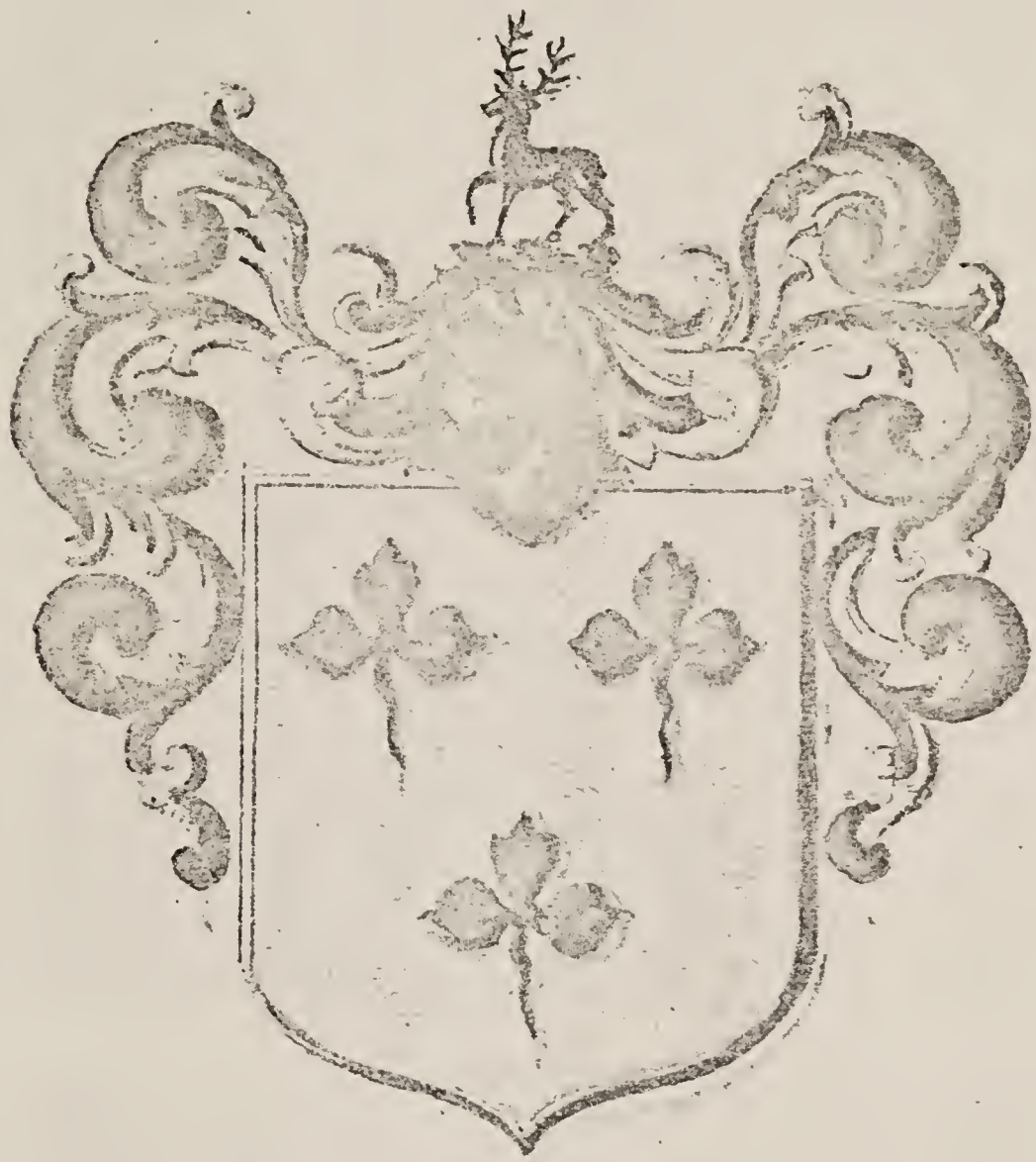
upheld. Unhappily, Underhill was in his grave ere his action was thus vindicated.

While Winthrop may not have been able to realize his hope of being able to visit Underhill in the summer of 1665, casual references in the letters of the cousins indicate that he was often a guest in the Oyster Bay home. Those occasions were evidently enjoyable interludes in the lives of both. On receiving an intimation that another reunion was probable, Underhill wrote that his family were "much obliged unto you for our encouragement of your coming to visit us," and added that it would be "a great refreshing to our spirits to see you at Oyster Bay, if God make way for it."[14]

In the intervals of such "refreshing" there were fairly frequent interchanges of letters, some of which were occasioned by appeals to that medical knowledge of the Governor of Connecticut to which reference has been made in connection with the final illness of Helena Underhill. But Underhill was also sympathetic with the sufferings of those outside his family circle; and in one such case he was as careful in his description of the symptoms as he had been in seeking relief for his first wife.

> A good godly woman [he wrote] and dear friend of my wife, is often in a sad distressed condition, inasmuch as her life is a burden unto her through extremity of torture, and humbly request your favourable assistance to her in this present distress. The distemper is a shooting ague, pricking in her left side, ascending into her temples, and teeth, head and jaws, and taking her sometimes two days together, and has had it near twelve months, and with such extremity as she cannot rest night nor day, and takes her at all seasons, night and day, shifting its course as

[14] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 188.



COAT OF ARMS USED BY CAPTAIN JOHN UNDERHILL

Found on conveyances of land and on original letters in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society

an ague. If God shall please to put it into your heart to send her some relief by the bearer, my wife endearedly presents you with her service in the love of God.

A later letter is significant for the light it throws on the religious preferences of the Oyster Bay household. Underhill had evidently taken resolute action in connection with some unwonted interference by Connecticut officials, and justified his conduct by writing to Winthrop in these terms: "I should not have showed myself an obstructor of your power but that my wife and son, being Quakers, were greatly abused by sordid spirits under your authority at Setauket, pretending your laws bound them to it, as they were Quakers."[15] That protest might have been postulated of the man whose zeal for tolerance had been proved at the cost of heavy material loss, and who, several years earlier, had eulogized Winthrop for his "moderate" dealings with Quakers, and had declared for himself that he "dared not meddle with that people." That John Underhill had been an "obstructor" of the Connecticut officials is also another indication of the growth of his agreement with the teaching of George Fox.

One of Underhill's letters, however, must have interested Winthrop even more than appeals for medical advice or protests against intolerance. Winthrop's attention to human ailments and their remedies was only one aspect of his devotion to scientific research and experiment, and as one of the original Fellows of the Royal Society he was eagerly "inquisitive into natural philosophy and other parts of human learning." A long letter which he addressed to Sir Robert Moray, the first President of the

[15] *Ibid.*, 192-193.

Royal Society, in the January of 1665, for example, contained many reflections on his observations of Jupiter, and details of a severe storm which had visited Long Island and wrought great havoc in the previous summer. Another and apparently unrelated fact must be borne in mind as an essential factor in the appreciation of Underhill's letter. Winthrop was so closely in the confidence of Nicolls that the latter shared all his confidential news with his friend; and in the summer of 1665 that news was of a disturbing nature. The unceremonious seizure of New Netherland had naturally embittered the Dutch against England, and reprisals in the new world were fully expected. The reaction of Nicolls' news indeed is obvious in a letter Winthrop addressed to the English Governor in the end of June, in which he explained what preparations had been made "in case of sudden invasions of foreign enemies."[16]

Now it was in that anxious June of 1665 Underhill wrote the letter referred to above. The text of the letter was brief; its purport was to inform Winthrop of the non-arrival of one of his papers connected with the House of Hope litigation. Then, under the date of the 8th of June, came a postscript stating that there had been no recent news come from England nor any shipping arrived in New York, and asking Winthrop whether he had received any "late intelligence." Before the letter was dispatched, however, Underhill added a second and longer postscript. The broken sentences in which it was expressed betray the tense excitement in which it was written. After the date of the preceding lines, he said, namely on the 9th, "at 10 of the night, I and divers more heard

[16] *Ibid.*, 5th Series, VIII, 96.

a warning piece of ordnance; sudden after it 2 more distinct, then a volley of small shot." Some of his friends added the detail that they distinguished "the perfect beat of the drum." On the other hand, "the South Indians say it appeared to them in the air with a flash of fire in the report of the guns"; and the sound was heard by others "at Hempstead and other towns." Underhill's reflection on this startling event was expressed in an unusual tangle of words, the purport of which may be thus clarified: "Your father and my dear father, in love and honour foreseeing, God's judgment foretold is doubtless at hand, for the true fear of God is departed." [17]

On a first impression, the words "my dear father" appear to be the only reference in all Underhill's letters to his own parent; but on more careful reflection it is evident he was thinking rather of the Governor of Massachusetts as Underhill entertained an unchanging affection for the elder Winthrop, and had been deeply impressed by that warning of the impending judgment of God which constituted the last message of the Governor of Massachusetts on his departure from Boston.[18] While Underhill, then, regarded the startling reports and flashes in the air as Divine portents, and does not seem to have associated them with threats of a Dutch invasion, there is unfortunately no indication of the significance attached to them by the younger Winthrop. It must be remembered, however, that scientific observation of meteorites had not at that time attracted the attention of even the Fellows of the Royal Society. But Underhill's description, with its varied versions of the phenomenon, certainly

[17] Massachusetts Historical Society MSS.: Winthrop Papers, V.
[18] P. 294.

deserves to be added to the scanty early records of meteoritic falls.

That he should have adduced Indians' testimony in his account is significant. It is an indication that he was in constant and friendly intercourse with his native neighbours. And it is hardly fanciful to regard it as another token of the repute in which he was held by the aborigines. It will be recalled that after his decisive defeat of the Connecticut Indians, the vanquished instinctively turned to him as their mediator in suing for peace, and that he did not fail them.

Two traditional anecdotes, also, are at least suggestive of the fame Underhill enjoyed among the tribes. One related that when he had retired for the night and drawn up the ladder into his chamber, some Indians gathered in the room below and eloquently boasted how they would attack and kill him if opportunity offered. But when he suddenly dropped into their midst they all fled. On another occasion, when passing the night in a friend's house on Long Island, he, on retiring, left in the kitchen his footwear—boots of spacious size and unmistakable individuality. An hour or so later some Indians broke in intent upon robbery, but on seeing the boots and remembering to whom they belonged they made a hurried departure.

But there is convincing evidence that while the Indians feared Underhill in war they were eager to secure his advocacy in peace. It was no defective logic which made them argue that the warrior of victory would be the sage of counsel. As Underhill delighted to cite the example of Cyrus—"an heathen prince" but notable for "mercy and clemency"—he would have cultivated those qualities

by which the founder of the Persian empire won the proud title of "the father of the people."

When his record is borne in mind, then, it is not surprising that the Matinnicock Indians, on the occasion of a serious dispute with some of the settlers of Hempstead, turned to him as their adviser and advocate. The wrong of which the Matinnicocks complained was that their land had been appropriated and kept from them without due compensation. Having learnt all the details of the confiscation, Underhill addressed a petition to Nicolls, and the Governor promptly brought the matter to the attention of the constable and overseers of Hempstead. He had received, he informed them, a petition on behalf of the Matinnicocks, and requested that representatives of the town should be appointed to appear at the next General Court of Assizes in New York, with whatever evidence might be material to the enquiry according to the complaints of the plaintiffs. Nicolls added that he had "appointed Mr. John Underhill, of Oyster Bay, to be attorney for the Indian plaintiffs." [19] A few days later the Governor and the Court of Assizes issued, on the 1st of October, 1666, a definite official order calling upon the Hempstead people to be represented at the Court to be held on the 18th of the same month, when the Governor and Council would "give their judgment according to law and good conscience."

Although an entire day was spent in the hearing of the case, no report of the pleadings has survived. But that Underhill proved an able advocate for his native clients is fully established by the record of the agreement which was signed on the following day. That document set

[19] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, XIV, 587.

forth that the inhabitants of Hempstead were to enjoy the lands in question but only upon certain conditions and reservations. On the one hand, the Matinnicocks were to have a "planting field" in a place of their own choice; on the other, Governor Nicolls, on behalf of the people of Hempstead, undertook to compensate the Indian owners by a certain quantity of "Duffles and Blankets." In addition to those stipulations, the agreement contained this clause: "The Indians do covenant that Capt. Underhill shall enjoy a part of the said land, and it is mutually declared, by Mr. Hicks and Mr. Gildersleeve, on the town's part, and by Capt. Underhill for himself, that they are agreed upon the proportion." [20] The natural inference from that article of the agreement is that the Indians, in the event of Underhill's advocacy being successful, had undertaken to reward him by a considerable share of the lands in dispute.

Four months later, on the 20th of February, 1667, they embodied their gratitude in a definite deed. It was inscribed as made and signed at "Killingworth," evidence that Underhill was already using the name of the Warwickshire home of his grandfather and father, and—in modernized spelling—was expressed in these terms: "We, the Indian proprietors of Matinnicock, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do by these presents acknowledge to have given and freely granted and made over unto John Underhill, senior, of the place aforesaid in the county of New Yorkshire, and under the Royal patronage and protection of his Highness James, Duke of York, a certain tract of land containing a hundred and fifty acres, more or less, lying between Corn Creek and the marked tree,

[20] Oyster Bay Records, II, 668-669.

KILLINGWORTH, LOCUST VALLEY, NEW YORK

The summer home of Myron C. Taylor, which occupies the same plot of ground on which Captain Underhill built his home. The land presented to Underhill by the Indians in 1667, was named by him Killingworth. Portions of the old home are preserved in the present dwelling.

bounded by us southward and thence ranging with the lot of Nathan Burchall, as laid out by the Hempstead men, with a small nook of meadow lying between Oak Neck meadows and Racoon Swamp, bounded westward with three rocks lying in the said meadow, with all privileges of commonage for timber and grazing, fishing, fowling, hunting, with all benefits of minerals according to law, for him the said John, his heirs, successors or assigns, peaceably to possess or enjoy for ever free from all molestation from us, our heirs, successors, administrators and assigns, and do by these presents engage to make good the promises to him the said John his heirs and assigns aforesaid against all pleas or pretences whatsoever, we having received full satisfaction from him the said John for all the privileges and benefits as before mentioned, as witness our hands the day and date above written and in the 19th year of the King's reign." [21]

As the gift to which the foregoing deed referred was an essential part of the agreement of the 19th of October, Underhill deemed it necessary to secure the confirmation of the Governor. About the same time Nicolls also learnt that while the Matinnicocks were unwilling to sell certain portions of their land to the town of Hempstead, they promised not to disturb the seven families already settled there. Those facts explain the letter which the Governor wrote to Underhill, in which he said: "I understand they have given you that part of their land which was spoken of before me, when Mr. Hicks and Mr.

[21] Albany Records: Deeds, III, 15. The version of the deed quoted above has been corrected and amplified in a few phrases from what is believed to be the original document as reproduced in "The Underhill Burying Ground." The Albany transcript, which bears that it was "recorded for Capt. John Underhill the 13th of March 1667," was made somewhat carelessly, but the scribe was fairly successful in imitating the Indians' "marks."

Gildersleeve and those Indians were here; I shall be ready to confirm the same, upon condition that the said Indians do give assurance that those seven families shall quietly and peaceably enjoy what they have, until the said Indians can be induced for their own conveniency to admit of a greater number of families. I have written to this purpose to those of Hempstead." [22] Within a few weeks Underhill was able to assure Nicolls that he had secured an undertaking from the Matinnicocks that they would not disturb the families already settled on their land; and the Governor's secretary, in writing to acknowledge that "friendly and quiet agreement and compliance," intimated that it was Nicolls' desire that the families in question should unite in "making the Indians some gift or gratuity in requital." In the same letter, dated the 19th of April, 1667, the secretary also wrote: "For the proposal of the inhabitants of giving a name [Killingworth] to the place, the Governor doth approve of what they shall do therein." [23] Thus in addition to securing Nicolls' confirmation of the Indians' gift, he procured official recognition of that place-name which was for him so rich in family associations.

Although explicit evidence is lacking, there are indications that Underhill had settled upon a part of the land included in the Indians' gift prior to the deed of February 20th. His preference for that delectable region is suggestive of his keen appreciation of natural beauties; and the fertility of the soil was a practical buttress to his choice. A generation earlier, when he was writing his narrative of the Pequot war, he had sufficient knowledge

[22] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, XIV, 595.
[23] *Ibid.*, 596.

of Long Island to commend it to prospective settlers; and his favourable opinion must have been strengthened during his residence at Flushing. To those days, indeed, must be attributed that intimate knowledge of Oyster Bay which created the desire for a permanent home there. He evidently regarded Southold and Setauket as temporary abodes; his ideal was centred on the more picturesque western regions. When Van Tienhoven, in his fine publicity effort to advertise the attractions of New Netherland, dilated upon the beauties and other assets of Oyster Bay and Locust Valley, he was merely giving form to knowledge which was familiar to Underhill.

> Oyster Bay [he wrote] so called from the great abundance of fine and delicate oysters which are found there, is about a short league across; deep and navigable, without rocks or sand, runs inland nearly west, and divides into two rivers, which are broad and clear, on which lie some fine maize lands, formerly cultivated by the Indians, some of which are still worked. . . . This land is situated on such beautiful bay and rivers, that it could, at little cost, be converted into good farms, fit for the plough; there are here, also, fine hay-valleys.[24]

Underhill was not landless before the Matinnicocks made him their generous grant of a hundred and fifty acres. As has been stated in an earlier chapter, he received a ten-acre lot as soon as he settled at Oyster Bay. And, according to the joint testimony of Hubbard's map and a deed said to have been made in the June of 1664, it would appear that his ten-acre lot was situated within the boundaries of the Matinnicock gift. Reference has already been made to the evidence of the Hubbard map

[24] *Ibid.*, IV, 25-36.

in relation to the locality of Underhill's home and neighbours; the deed in question, which concerned some land purchased by Matthew Pryer from the Matinnicocks, and which was witnessed by Underhill and his eldest son in addition to John Feake, described that land as being near "the four rocks lying in John Underhill's meadow." That those four rocks were a conspicuous feature of the landscape is established by the fact that they figure in several Indian deeds of about the same date, in which they are always referred to as "lying in John Underhill's meadow" or as "lying in John Underhill senior's meadow." No matter what changes took place in the area of his possessions, he seems to have had and to have retained that distinctively marked meadow from the time of his arrival at Oyster Bay.

But he also owned another plot of land; for in a record of the February of 1665 there is this memorandum: "Roger Barton bought of Alexander Brian, of Milford, all Captain John Underhill's account and that land that Underhill bought of Mr. Sherman, with all privileges belonging to it recorded the 25 of February 1664,—the two lots of meadow at the old manse." [25] It seems probable that Underhill was able to enter into that transaction by the acquisition of his ten-acre lot. About the same time, however, he appears to have completed an arrangement whereby he was able to make a separate provision for his eldest son, for in the March of 1665 there is this record: "The Town is contented that John Underhill junior shall have the house lot that was granted to his father with the common rights. And the Town have also granted to the said John Underhill meadow share

[25] Brookhaven Town Records, 100.

at Matinnicock."[26] But yet another plot was added to his possessions a year or so later, for at a "full town meeting" it was decided to make a "second division of the land in the Old Field" into four-acre and three-acre lots, of which Underhill received one of the latter.[27]

When, however, he was assured of the possession of the hundred and fifty acres, he devoted his attention to the acquisition of certain pieces of land which he deemed essential to the completion of his estate, and also to taking such action as would insure undisturbed possession. It is reasonable, indeed, to regard his proceedings as prompted by a determination to realize his ambition to make Killingworth a compact and valuable demesne. Perhaps, too, he may have been obsessed by an ideal akin to that which coloured the life and inspired the ambitions of an empire-builder of a later age. Warren Hastings was the scion of an ancient line, whose broad acres and manorial home had been lost to the family by some of his ancestors. As a lad "the daily sight of the lands which his ancestors had possessed, and which had passed into the hands of strangers, filled his young brain with wild fancies and projects. . . . He would," Macaulay added, "recover the estate which had belonged to his fathers. . . . This purpose, formed in infancy and poverty, grew stronger as his intellect expanded and his fortune rose." Underhill, too, could boast an ancient lineage. In his case, also, ancestral acres and manor hall had been alienated by reckless forefathers. He knew it was hopeless to cherish an ambition to regain the Warwickshire lands and mansion of his line; but why should

[26] Oyster Bay Records, I, 11.
[27] Brookhaven Town Records, 145.

he not found a new Underhill domain on American soil, distinguished by the name so familiar to his grandfather and father?

Within a few weeks of his receiving the deed of the Matinnicock lands he negotiated with one of the Indian chiefs for a certain tract which would enhance the symmetry of his possessions. Hence the deed of the 17th of March, 1667, by which Thomas Francis, "a lawful Indian proprietor," testified that he had sold to Underhill "a neck of Upland, lying between Oyster Bay meadow and Corchapen Swamp."[28] To the same month in which that purchase was made belongs an incident which indicates that Underhill was resolved there should be no doubt as to the exact boundaries of his estate. Some unnamed Hempstead people asserted that the Matinnicock lands did not extend any further west than Mosquito Cove. To settle that point beyond dispute Underhill at once appealed to the authority of Tackapouche, sachem of Massepeage, who immediately set his hand to a document, drawn up at "Killingworth this 22 of March 1667," in which he described the Hempstead men as "liars." And he was supported by the testimony of three other Indians, who signed the statement with him. The chief witness of the document was Underhill, but in addition it was testified by Henry Redocke, William Simson,

[28] Albany Records: Deeds, II, 59. The deed cited above was recorded on the 6th of April, 1668; but a second deed of almost identical wording is engrossed among the Colonial Patents at Albany, IV, 195. The apparently astonishing fact about this second copy is that it bears that it was "recorded for Capt. John Underhill December 23, 1672." As Underhill died in the preceding September, the date may have been a clerical error, or the son, wishing a confirmation of the purchase, may have been mistaken for his father. Alternately, Underhill may have desired a second record of the sale, and the entry may have been dated in ignorance of his death. It is interesting to note that each record used the word "Killingworth."

and John Dyer.[29] A month later Underhill effected a further consolidation of his domain by exchanging with Thomas Townsend some meadow land "at the South" for a similar plot at Matinnicock.[30]

Having thus perfected his plans, Underhill was in a position to further complete his provision for his eldest son. This he did on the 10th of August, 1667, in the following terms: "I, John Underhill senior, of Oyster Bay, do freely pass and make over from me, my heirs and assigns for ever, unto my son John Underhill junior, his heirs for ever, to enjoy these parcels of land as followeth: my half share of the South Meadows and my planting-field containing ten acres, and my whole share of Oak Neck Meadows, with my interest in all common meadows; and this is my Law act I have hereunto set my hand." [31]

Toward the end of the same year, having in the intervening months evidently been able to complete his new abode at Killingworth, Underhill had had no further need of his original dwelling. Hence the record of the 21st of December which testified that, "for full satisfaction in hand already received," he had made over to George Dennis his "house and home lot with commonage thereunto belonging and all other privileges that do or may hereafter belong unto the said house and lands lying and being in the town of Oyster Bay." [32] The witnesses to this transaction were Daniel Coles and Underhill's friend and neighbour, Matthew Pryer.

Only one other land purchase and sale is attributed

[29] Oyster Bay Records, I, 677.
[30] *Ibid.*, 29.
[31] *Ibid.*, 36.
[32] *Ibid.*, 32, 33.

to Underhill in the ancient archives; and it is interesting to observe that the men concerned were the Thomas Townsend with whom he had previously effected an exchange and the John Dyer who had witnessed Tackapouche's emphatic protest against the mendacity of those Hempstead men who had pretended such a confident knowledge of the Matinnicock boundaries. In that dual transaction each document was dated at "Killingworth." One was the deed whereby John Dyer testified that he "bargained, sold, and made over" to Underhill all his rights and title "of meadows, salt and fresh, with a share of the Creek and thatch, lying in and about Mosquito Cove on Matinnicock"; and the other was Underhill's assignment of the same land and rights to Thomas Townsend.[33] The reference to thatch, or "thach" as it is usually written, is common in deeds of the period, indicating the importance attached to the reeds which were so valuable for roofing the colonial homes.

What manner of dwelling was that in which Underhill passed his sunset years? We do not know. The remorseless waters of Lethe, which have engulfed the great majority of the abodes of the new-world pioneers, have hidden it in their unfathomable depths. But, happily, there are certain factors which are reliable aids to the imagination. We can divine, for example, the type of dwelling he affected at Stamford. The evidence of the two custodians of Patrick's murderer indicates that Underhill's home was of the two-storey variety which developed as soon as the rough early years had given place to more settled conditions. In the Stamford abode there was a "lower room at the foot of the stairs," and

[33] Albany Records: Deeds, III, 26.

the inference from that statement and from the remark about Underhill and his wife retiring to their "lodging" is that the dwelling conformed to the model in which there were four apartments on the ground and upper floors.

On Long Island, as many old engravings testify, the familiar domestic architecture of Underhill's time was naturally affected by Dutch influence; but even so the type of house evolved was simple in its plan, notable on the exterior for its deeply-sloping roof, its diamond-latticed or square-shaped windows, and its central doorway, and in its interior for its wealth of crudely worked beams.

If the imagination pictures Underhill's Killingworth home as a composite of the ancient engravings, little injustice will probably be done to the outward aspect of the original. That the windows were fitted with glass, either diamond-shaped or of that square form with a bulbous centre which is so fascinating a feature of ancient cottages, is a safe inference from the frequency with which large consignments of "windowe glasse" figured in the cargoes of vessels voyaging to New England. From the same evidence, too, we learn something of the usual fittings and plenishings of those early homes. Thus, the colonists were in the habit of importing considerable quantities of "Iron backes for Chimneys," "trencher dishes," "wooden platters," "frying pans," "things for a mill" and "grindlestones," "Apparell household stuff," "bedding and old linnen," "Jeane Fustians," "coarse blankets," countless dozens of "tallowe candles," "kettles," "grocerye ware," and, on rarer occasions, hogsheads of "muscadel" and "Rundlets" of "wormwood

wine" and "Aquavitae."[34] When these miscellaneous items are sorted out by the imagination and allotted to their appropriate places in the household they are of material assistance in repicturing the domestic economy of the Underhill home.

But what of "the trivial round, the common task"? We have a wealth of information as to Underhill's activities in the large affairs of his career; but how did he spend his time in those less crowded days which are the greater sum of life? His occupation as a soldier was gone: like a later Cincinnatus, he had left the battlefield for the farm; his sword had become a ploughshare, his spear a pruning-hook. Doubtless, as the poet imagined was the case with Miles Standish in his Plymouth dwelling, the walls of Underhill's Long Island home were adorned with the trusty sword and carbine with which he had fought the Pequots and with the helmet which had saved his life on Block Island; but never more would he wear his armour or wield his weapons against any foe. His public offices, under Dutch and English, must have contributed to his means; but his sheriffship of Flushing was of brief duration, and his "years and other cares" compelled him to resign his offices under Nicolls after a few years' exercise. Like his ancestors in Warwickshire, the chief occupations of his closing years were associated with the land.

Remembering the years he had spent in the Low Countries, and that the seasons of the Netherlands were not greatly different from those of New Netherland, the procession of the months on Long Island may well have

[34] Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XLVII, 178-190. All these illuminating details were discovered by Worthington C. Ford in his careful researches among the Port Books in the Public Record Office in London.

corresponded to the annual routine of old world experience. What that routine was is quaintly illustrated in the miniatures which adorn a Flemish Book of Hours of the sixteenth century.[35] If conditions of life were too little developed to permit such picturesque enjoyments as the torch-dance feast of February, or the romantic garden wooing of April, or the boating excursions of May and the tournaments of June, the winter landscape of January with its glimpses of cosy interiors and strenuous log-chopping on snow-covered ground, and the industrious activity of March-time gardening and tree-felling are probably faithful to scenes enacted at Killingworth during the first half of the year; and, for the rest, if Underhill was not able to indulge in the falconry of July he certainly was familiar with the hay-harvest of that month, just as the corn-reaping of August and the ploughing of September and the pig-killing of December may well have come within his experience in the cycle of the year.

According to the old records, only once during the last five years of his life did Underhill feel justified in putting aside his "other cares" in the interests of the community. As the number of settlers at Oyster Bay increased, the dependence of that place on Hempstead in matters of government became growingly inconvenient. Hence the natural desire that Oyster Bay might be given official status as a separate township. By the April of 1668 this project had so far developed that Underhill was requested to undertake the task of carrying it into effect. "The Town of Oyster Bay," the authorizing minute ran, "do by these presents testify and declare that we were free

[35] British Museum: Add. MS. 24098.

to receive a Patent according to the instructions betrusted to our loving neighbour Captain John Underhill, to whom we have committed the draught of our town limits."[36] That their "loving neighbour" might be thoroughly armed with all necessary declarations, the Oyster Bay people agreed by "unanimous vote" to pay all such dues and duties as should be enacted by good laws. Even so, Underhill's task was neither simple nor easy; and a recognition of that fact is implicit in this record of the 10th of December, 1668: "A Town meeting held, and ordered that Captain John Underhill is to have for his labour and pains taken about the affairs of the town, one pound five shillings; to be levied forthwith in a town rate."[37] The harvest of Underhill's "labour and pains" ripened in the February of the following year, when Francis Lovelace—who had succeeded Nicolls as Governor of New York—addressed a letter to "the Inhabitants of Killingworth and Matinnicock." "Having," he wrote, "received an Address from you by the hands of Capt. Underhill, wherein you desire to be a Township of yourselves and to be made independent on Hempstead or any other place," he was prepared, no material objections being raised, to give them "all encouragement in the prosecution of the proposals," and to confirm the patent they desired.[38] Thus Underhill's final public service was crowned with success; and, more fortunate than in his experiences with Massachusetts and Connecticut, he did not lack the gratitude implied in the Oyster Bay gift and the townsfolks' eulogy of him as a "loving neighbour."

For him, then, the sunset years were irradiated by

[36] Oyster Bay Town Records, I, 40.
[37] *Ibid.*, 209.
[38] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, XIV, 616.

"honour, love, obedience, troops of friends." When the names of witnesses to deeds and other documents are collated with those inscribed on Hubbard's map and the others mentioned in Underhill's will, it becomes obvious that he was never lonely for lack of social intercourse. Other acquaintances were not far distant, such as his earlier friends at Flushing, and fellow farmers like the Richard Waring, of Brookhaven, with whom he occasionally effected an exchange of cattle. And we may be sure that old associates of New York never came to Oyster Bay without visiting Killingworth.

So the years glided away until, in the fall of 1671, some premonition of the end, or a passing ailment, prompted him to make his will. The document, headed "Killingworth," was begun on the 12th of September but was not completed and signed and sealed until the 18th. Testifying that he was in "perfect understanding," he committed his soul "unto the eternal mercy, love and joy" of his heavenly Father in the free death and mercy of his Saviour Christ Jesus, "whom by a saving faith," he added, "I eternally chose withal, and do declare the witness of the Spirit sealing the promises to my everlasting joy and consolation in the Holy Ghost, my sole Comforter." As to mundane things, he bequeathed his entire estate to his wife Elizabeth during her widowhood, stipulating that his son Nathaniel should remain with his mother until his twenty-first year. In the event of his widow marrying again, his brother John Bowne, and Henry Townsend, Matthew Pryer and his son John were to supervise the estate so that the children were not "wronged nor turned off without some proportionable allowance." When Nathaniel attained his majority, the overseers of the will

were to assign him such land as they judged right and equal.[39]

That "my brother John Bowne" was named first by Underhill among the overseers of his will would appear to indicate a special friendship with Hannah Feake's husband. He had been attracted to him fifteen years earlier, when he described him as "a very genteel young man, of good ability, of a lovely feature, and good behaviour"; and prolonged acquaintance confirmed his first judgment. From John Bowne he would have learnt all the details of his sufferings from his Quaker faith: how Stuyvesant had ruthlessly expelled him in 1662; how he had carried his appeal to the West India Company in Amsterdam; and how he had been vindicated and been the occasion of a sharp rebuke to the Dutch Governor. Without question, the veteran soldier and the young Quaker often debated the teaching of George Fox, especially as Underhill's wife and son had embraced the gospel of the Inner Light. The most pronounced tendency of Underhill's mentality might be crystallized into a protest against formalism, literalism, and a fetish worship of the letter of the scripture. It is clear from many expressions in his letters that his deepest yearning was to realize God as a possession, to be rid of formulas and observances, and to enjoy the rapture of actual communion with the Divine.

[39] Oyster Bay Town Records, I, 78. Underhill's widow did not long survive him; like her sister Hannah, she seems to have been of a delicate constitution. By the November of 1675 she was dead, for in that month Underhill's eldest son was made administrator of the estate. (Abstracts of Wills in the Surrogate's Office, New York, Liber 1-2.) In 1683 John was recorded as the second wealthiest inhabitant of Oyster Bay, his property being returned as of the value of £159. Four years later he purchased from his half-brother Nathaniel and his wife Mary, a daughter of John Ferris, all the housing and land which "my father John Underhill lived upon," and forty additional acres. (Oyster Bay Town Records, I, 687-688.)

Such a nature as his could not fail to be attracted by the mysticism of the Quaker faith.

Had an inventory of his effects been attached to Underhill's will it would have been possible to gratify a not unnatural curiosity as to how far he was acquainted with the great literature of his time. As Miles Standish had his "shelf of books" on the wall opposite his "glittering weapons of war," why not John Underhill? Many allusions in his letters indicate considerable reading; and we have seen with what avidity he perused such a recent publication as Humphrey Norton's *New-England's Ensigne.* Why may he not, then, have been familiar with other productions of the press of those years? It is pleasant to think that an early copy of *The Compleat Angler* reached that Long Island home, wherein its master might have read old Izaak's typical angler's story of the "woman in Killingworth pond, not far from Coventry" whose toe was bitten by a pike as she was washing clothes. And how Underhill would have been strengthened in his zeal for tolerance had he read Jeremy Taylor's impassioned *Liberty of Propheseying,* or confirmed in his belief in the right of private judgment by the cogent reasoning of Milton's "Reformation Touching Church Discipline in England." More consonant still with his spirit would he have found the gracious charity and wistful mysticism of Sir Thomas Browne's "Religio Medici," with its "I condemn not all things in the Council of Trent, nor approve all in the Synod of Dort," and its "I am sure there is a common Spirit that plays within us, yet makes no part of us; that is, the Spirit of God, the fire and scintillation of that noble and mighty Essence, which is the life and radical heat of Spirits."

One notable experience was vouchsafed to Underhill ere he passed into the unseen. He met George Fox in the flesh. It was mid-May of 1672 when the founder of the Society of Friends reached Long Island for the express purpose of attending the half-yearly meetings at Oyster Bay; and, after tarrying a day with John Bowne at Flushing, he reached Oyster Bay in good time for the four days' services which began on the 17th of the month. Though there is no record to that effect in his "Journal," it may well have been that Underhill was Fox's host during those May days of 1672, for was he not the brother-in-law of such faithful followers as John and Hannah (Feake) Bowne and were not his wife and son at least members of the Society? It is no unreasonable assumption, at any rate, that, providing he were in health, Underhill would have been a constant attendant at Fox's meetings; and, if he had then been stricken with his mortal sickness, it is unthinkable that he was not visited by the Quaker prophet. One way or another, then, Underhill had some experience of how "the Lord's power broke forth gloriously" in those May-time days of 1672. But when Fox, after his visit to Rhode Island, returned to Oyster Bay for another brief sojourn on the 7th of August, Underhill had only a few weeks to live. Than the man whose "very presence expressed a religious majesty," the old soldier could have had no more meet death-bed consoler.

As the year waned to the fall, on the 21st of Seventh month, 1672, he "heroicly finished a life heroic." And it can hardly have been other than his own wish that he was laid to rest on the knoll which marks the highest summit of his own land. He was familiar with his Bible.

TO THE MEMORY OF CAPTAIN JOHN UNDERHILL

Erected at Locust Valley, Long Island, New York, in 1908

He knew how the leader of the Chosen People, obedient to the command "get thee up into this high mountain," had had restored to him the "beloved solitudes he had lost," and how God had "breathed the peace of the perpetual hills around him, and cast the world in which he had laboured and sinned far beneath his feet." But, indeed, it has often been the yearning of men of imagination or leadership to have their sepulcher on some uplifted spot. So Robert Louis Stevenson chose the peak of Vaea and Cecil Rhodes the summit of the Matoppos.

When Underhill was borne to his grave, the inspired pen of Milton had not long written a eulogy of a warrior of ancient Israel, and the pæan-requiem he penned might have been intended for the soldier-saviour of New England and New Netherland:

> Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
> Or knock the breast; no weakness, no contempt,
> Dispraise or blame; nothing but well and fair,
> And what may quiet us in a death so noble.

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